Reinventing the Ancient Greeks
The self-representation of Byzantine scholars in Renaissance Italy

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Contents

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This study is dedicated to the memory of Hippolyte Noiret who died, aged 24, in Venice in 1888.

Conventions and Abbreviations

The word 'Byzantines' to refer to the inhabitants of the Eastern Roman Empire (330 until 1453) was coined not before the sixteenth century. If only for this reason, a brief note on how the 'Byzantines' are called throughout this thesis is in order. In discussions of primary sources in Greek or Latin, the choice of the original authors was followed. This means that 'Graecus' or 'Γραικός' has been rendered as Greek, 'Ἕλλην' as Hellene, both 'Romanus' and 'Ρωμαῖος' as Roman, and 'Romaeus' as Romaean. The rare Latin 'Romaei' has been translated with 'Romaeans' in order to differentiate it from the more frequent Latin word 'Romani', Romans. Unlike the Latins, the Byzantines used 'Ρωμαῖοι' to refer to both themselves and the ancient Romans they identified with. To my best knowledge, only three Byzantine authors used 'Ρωμαῖοι' and 'Ρωμᾶνοι' to denote different groups. These are Constantine Porphyrogenitus in *De administrando imperio* (ca. 952), Kanavoutzes in *In Dionysium Halicarnassensem commentarius* (1st half of the 15th cent.), and Doukas in his *Historia Turcobyzantina* (ca. 1462). While Doukas (13.8.11) and Kanavoutzes (*passim*) used 'Ρωμαῖοι' and 'Ρωμᾶνοι' to differentiate between eastern and western Romans respectively, Porphyrogenitus (29.1-53) distinguished between Byzantines ('Ρωμαῖοι') and the Roman colonists who had settled in Dalmatia and elsewhere under emperor Diocletian ('Ρωμᾶνοι'). Outside the analysis of primary sources, the terms 'Byzantines' and 'eastern Romans' or 'Romans of the East' are used interchangeably in order to remind the reader that 'our' Byzantines actually called themselves Romans.

Inconsistent choices had to be made regarding the names of places and individuals. After Speake (2000) xxxvi, ancient Greek names have been given in their most common 'Latin' forms, whereas medieval and modern Greek names have been given in their 'Greek' (i.e. transliterated) forms. Transliterations are on the basis of ISO 843: 1997 without indicating accents and diacritics. Exceptions have been made for names with widely used equivalents in English (e.g. George Plethon instead of Georgios Plithon). If possible, the names of contemporary Greeks follow their own transliterations. In the same vein, the names of Renaissance humanists have been given in the Latinised forms they in general preferred unless anglicisations clearly prevailed in academic usage (as with Petrarch and Cyriac of Ancona). All personal names can be looked up in the *index nominum*, where vernacular names are given together with dates of birth and death.

References to ancient authors and their works in the footnotes generally follow the abbreviations used in the fourth edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). An exception to this are references to Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (*NH*) which the editors of *OCD* abbreviated to *HN*. Authors and works not included in the *OCD* are referred to in accordance with the ninth edition of *A Greek-English Lexicon*, edited by Henry George Lidell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) and the first edition of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, edited by P.G.W. Glare (Oxford & New York: Clarendon Press, 1982). For later Latin authors the third edition of *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*, edited by Alexander Souter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) and the *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi Lexicon (saec. V ex. – saec. XI in.): Index auctorum et operum*, edited by Paschali Smiraglia and Michaelis Di Marco (Firenze: Sismel, 2008) have been helpful. Whenever an author or work remained unmentioned in these reference works, full name or title is cited.

Further abbreviations used in the footnotes are:

BA	Biblioteca Angelica, Rome
BAM	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BE	Biblioteca Estense, Modena
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
BNC	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
MLW	*Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Otto Prinz and Heinz Antony. München: Beck, 1959.
NP	*Der Neue Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider and Manfred Landfester. Brill Online, 2012.
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan. 3 vols. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

PLP	*Prosopografisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit*, ed. Erich Trapp. 12 vols. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1994.
SB	Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

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Introduction

Topic, aims, and contentions

This study is about the poetics and politics of Greek identity in the Byzantine diaspora in Italy, and the role of the classical tradition in it. It is well known that the Byzantines had traditionally seen themselves as heirs to ancient Rome and had therefore called themselves Romans or *Romaioi* in Greek. During most of their millenary history, they had regarded the ancient Greeks as a foreign people divided from themselves by a gulf of time. The study of ancient Greek literature was 'learning from the outside' as opposed to scriptural and theological learning. 'Hellenes' was the term for pagans of any language or origin. The post-Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy, however, disowned the Romans and introduced themselves to their Italian hosts as the representatives of the ancient Greeks. One of them even wrote that their present misery was due to the fact that they had neglected the wisdom and customs of their ancestors, while they also called themselves Romans instead of Hellenes.[1] For this reason, their example has often been cited as an indication of the important role of the Greek diaspora in the emergence of a modern sense of Greek nationality. Still, the works of these displaced Byzantine Greeks have never been explored in detail in order to understand with what strategies they identified themselves with the ancient Greeks and why they did so in the first place.

By trying to answer these questions, this study hopes to contribute to our understanding of the sudden emergence of distinctive Greekness after Byzantium, especially in the Italian diaspora. Its intention is not to *rewrite* the complex history of Greekness after Byzantium, but to *reframe* it. It does so by finding an alternative to two extreme views on 'Greek identity'. The one extreme is represented by the nationalist perspective on the Greek diaspora. From this vantage point, the Byzantine Greek intelligentsia in Italian exile present the very first example of 'a modern sense of nationality'.[2] The other extreme is represented by modernist approaches to Greek identity that try to correct the perennialist and essentialist assumptions of Greek nationalism and argue that Greek identity is the exclusive product or 'construction' of eighteenth-century nationalism.[3]

[1] See below chapter 2, pp. 64-65.

[2] Vakalopoulos (1970) 257. Cf. Geanakoplos (1984a) 64, quoting Vakalopoulos with approval.

[3] I will not dwell on the axiomatic problems that haunt these two approaches since these have been discussed in sufficient detail elsewhere. A clear discussion and criticism of both nationalist

While nationalist interpretations often lift tiny bits of evidence out of their context in order to make huge claims about Greek continuity, modernists tend to omit sources dating from before the eighteenth century. The former overdetermine the sources, the latter exclude important evidence. For this reason, our understanding of the matter would benefit much from a critical return to the sources.

Such a critical revaluation of the sources requires clarity about what 'Greek identity' is supposed to mean and how it relates to the texts under study. This study starts from the idea that 'Greek identity' is perhaps not the best concept to understand the complex and variegated ways in which the Byzantines identified with the ancient Greeks. As the texts under study do not reflect the voice of a coherent Greek people and cannot be seen as transparent expressions of what their authors really felt and thought, they hardly allow for grand generalisations about 'Greek identity' and 'national consciousness'. Recasting the notion of 'Greek identity' in terms of self-representation, this thesis tries to reveal the Byzantines' complex identification with the ancient Greeks as it is often obscured by the way nationalists and national historians use the notion of identity. At the same time, it argues that certain 'identity constructs' have a history that predates the comfort zone of modernism.

In addition, this study reviews the relation between Latin humanism and Greek patriotism. In discussions of how Byzantine scholars in Italy rejected or maintained their Hellenism, Latin humanism has sometimes been construed as an impediment to Greek identity or Greek patriotism. This view not only sees Greek patriotism and humanist cosmopolitism as mutually exclusive phenomena,[4] but also considers humanist rhetoric to be a serious impediment to the veritable expression of Greek patriotism.[5] In such cases, the question what this 'authentic patriotism' would be is left unanswered, while

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and modernist stances is in Smith (2000, 2009). The most up-to-date criticism of modernist approaches to national identity in particular is Hirschi (2012) 20-33. Convenient overviews of different approaches to the nationalism theory debate from different perspectives are Grosby (2005), Lawrence (2005) and Ichijo & Uzelac (2005). See also Özkırımlı & Grosby (2007). References concerning the debate about the role of early modern humanism in the evolution of proto-nationalism can be found below in n. 6.

[4] See, for instance, the series of contributions of Irmscher (1976, 1964, 1961), in which he asked whether three prominent Byzantine refugees (Theodore Gaza, George Trapezuntius of Crete, and Bessarion) cherished their Hellenism or on the contrary turned their back on it after their emigration.

[5] This idea especially resonates in Binner (1980), who offers the only more or less detailed discussion of late- and post-Byzantine crusade appeals for western powers. See also Binner (1971) for a synopsis of his views.

the notion of Hellenism or Greekness is narrowed down to a commitment to the Greeks 'at home' and Greek liberation. Apart from the fact that such a view runs the risk of anachronism, recent scholarship regarding early modern humanism and patriotism has shown that Latin humanism and Greek patriotism are not irreconcilable.[6] This book starts from the idea, most recently expressed by Caspar Hirschi, that Italian humanism in particular catalysed the emerging competition among European humanists.[7] Italian cultural hegemony forced non-Italians, such as the Germans and the French, to position themselves vis-à-vis the Italians, and to seek means to be distinctive even without the close connection with Rome the Italians could claim for themselves. This book argues that the Byzantine intellectuals in Italy were similarly provoked to enter the emergent national competition, and that their link with the ancient Greek past was their major advantage to create a sense of positive distinctiveness. From this viewpoint, Hellenism did not wither away due to the constraints of Latin cosmopolitism, but was articulated within the empowering limits of humanist culture.

In this way, finally, this study critically reflects upon the ideological substrata of our own modern classifications and frames of reference where national identity is concerned. More than two centuries of nationalism have successfully trained us to see groups of the past in terms of modern nations and by the criteria of modern nationalism.[8] One example may illustrate what I mean. In a review of the monumental *Charta of Greek Printing* (which maps printing activities of Greek printers in the West) an otherwise benign critic wrote that 'there is an unexplained elasticity [in the selection of authors and publishers] about who is and who is not a Greek'.[9] According to the critic in question it was, for instance, unclear why the author of the *Charta* had included Michael Marullus in his selection since – he argued – the poet had been born in Italy from Greek parents, received a Latin education, and wrote Latin poems. Although the

[6] The general importance of specifically the humanist movement for the emergence of patriotism and early forms of nationalism has been stressed in several studies, most importantly Hirschi (2012, 2005), Helmchen (2004) and Münkler (1998). Leerssen (2006b) 36-51 in particular stresses the role of Latinate learning and humanism in the development of alternatives to traditional biblically-based models of ethnic descent with the introduction of group rubrics such as 'Gauls', 'Belgae', 'Goths', and 'Germans'.

[7] This idea is cogently worked out in Hirschi (2012).

[8] The tendency to see, for instance, ancient Egyptians and Greeks as nations alongside their modern counterpart has been dubbed 'retrospective nationalism' (Smith 1995: 22). It must be noted that the bias to see the Byzantines as Greeks instead of Romans predates nationalism by almost a millennium. I will return to this issue in chapter 1, but especially in chapter 2.

[9] Green (2001) 244.

selection can be criticised, asking for clear-cut criteria to include or exclude individuals *as Greeks* is both historically and conceptually problematic. The reviewer's critique implies a set of objective and abiding criteria for Greekness (in this case birthplace, education and language) that may be valuable to the modern reviewer in question, but less so to Marullus. Given the fact that the Spartan poet more than once emphatically called himself, his ancestors and his people Greeks and Pelasgians, his language Greek, and his fatherland 'Graecia', we cannot simply deny that he was a Greek even if he was born in Italy and did not leave Greek writings.[10] It is therefore imperative to look at what Byzantines themselves have to say about what it meant to be a Greek. In order to understand them, we must escape our 'temporal provincialism'[11] and imagine a situation in which there were no full-blown ideologies of Greek nationalism, no sovereign nation state that governed in the name of all the Greeks, and no common education that infused Greek minds with a cogent narrative of the nation. As I shall show in what follows, one way to sharpen our focus and to avoid anachronism is to look at the Byzantines' 'Greek identity' in terms of self-(re)presentation.

For the study of the modern Greek diaspora, Georgios Anagnostou has argued that we must abandon the diaspora-homeland dualism to see the historical specificity of the diasporic Greeks, their internal differentiation, and the syncretism of their cultural makeup. Just like the modern Greek diaspora the post-Byzantine diaspora was a place where commitments to one place and desire for another as well as affiliations with 'here and there' did not operate independently, but co-existed in tension.[12] As we shall see throughout this book, for Byzantines in Italy, 'there' entailed not only a geographical or territorial space that must be recovered, but also a return to a lost Hellenism. In other words, 'there' was as much an intellectual ideal, or 'a province of Western thought', as it was an imagined place with a geography, a history, and a population.[13] This puts into perspective Nancy Bisaha's observation that Byzantines in Italy 'spoke of matters that

[10] The language of Marullus' patria was Greek (2.8.1-4), his fatherland was 'Graecia' (*Ep.* 2.32.109, 4.32.6, *Nen.* 3.13) or the 'Inachian lands' ('Inachium solum', *Ep.* 2.17.1). He called himself 'Graecus' (*Hym.* 2.8.3) or 'Graiugena' (*Ep.* 2.32.101) and his compatriots Greeks (*Ep.* 1.22.21, 3.37.40, *Hym.* 2.6.27, 3.1.256, 4.1.20) or Pelasgians (*Ep.* 1.48.29, 3.29.1, 3, *Hym.* 3.1.275). References are to Marullus, ed. Perosa (1951).

[11] Cf. Rice & Grafton (1994) 110.

[12] Cf. Anagnostou (2010) 92, 112.

[13] Artemis Leontis made a similar distinction between the *logos* of Hellas (Hellas as an historical, philological and literary concept) and the *topos* of Hellas (Hellas as the site of social, economic and cultural activity). See Leontis (1995) 22-25.

were at once very Greek and yet universally humanist and "Western"'.[14] As I will show later in this introduction, the notion of self-(re)presentation may also help us to see the Byzantine intelligentsia in the context of their host societies, in which they negotiated a positive sense of Greek distinctiveness for themselves and their group within the constraints of Latin culture. Before explaining this, however, it is useful first to provide in the next two sections the necessary historical background, and to outline the main scholarly contexts in which the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy have been set and seen.

Historical background: The Greek diaspora in Italy

In the late fourteenth and in the course of the fifteenth centuries, increasingly more Byzantines came to the Latin West. Some of them visited the West as part of diplomatic enterprises such as the missions under Manuel II (1395–1402) and John VIII Palaeologus (1443) as well as the ecclesiastical Councils of Constance (1416–1418) and Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439). In addition to such occasional visits some Byzantines decided to settle permanently in the West, especially in Italy, not only after but also before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Their large-scale migration to Italy and other parts of Europe from the onset of the Quattrocento is a notable chapter in the history of the Greek diaspora.[15] The early modern Greek diaspora has not received as much attention as its modern counterpart. Studies devoted to the early modern Greek diaspora generally take a historical point of view and examine the motivation of the migrants, their activities in their host societies, the centres of their settlement, their contribution to the revival of Greek studies and their role in cultural transfers from East to West.[16]

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[14] Bisaha (2004) 117.

[15] Cf. Chassiotis, Katsiardi-Hering & Abatzi (2006), Harris (1995b), Zakythinos (1976) 115-139, Vakalopoulos (1970) 234-255.

[16] For Greeks and Greek communities in Italy see esp. Monfasani (2012, 2002a), Solaro (2006), Porphyriou (1998), Harris (1995b) esp. 24-32, Manoussakas (1991). For Greeks and Greek communities in Livorno see Tomadakis (1940); for Milan see Tomadakis (1967), Sartori (1957); for Naples see Nikas (2000, 1991, 1982, 1981), Chassiotis (1981, 1970, 1969b), Ambrasi (1961), Lambros (1926, 1911); for Padova see Betto (1993), Ploumidis (1971), Fabris (1942); for Rome see Harris (2011), Niutta (1999), Tsirpanlis (1980); for southern Italy see: Tsirpanlis (1995), Tomai-Pitinca (1974), Setton (1956) 1-17, Weiss (1953); for Venice see Harris (2002), Imhaus (1997), Manoussakas (1989, 1982), Ball (1985, 1982), Mauroeidi-Ploumidis (1989, 1983, 1970), Geanakoplos (1984a, 1966c, 1965, 1962), Liata (1976), Kurris (1968), Fedalto (1967), Moschonas (1967). For the English connection see also Harris (2000a) and Harris & Porphyriou (2007). For Greek communities elsewhere see, e.g., Janeković-Römer (2006) and Croskey (1988). An extensive bibliography about the Greek diaspora is available on the internet for which see

How many Byzantine migrants came to the West is unknown due to the absence of statistical data.[17] The fall of Constantinople, the capture of the Morea (1460), the seizure of Negroponte (1470), the Venetian loss of Lepanto (1499) and other Ottoman advances into Greek-speaking areas all stirred waves of migration. Still, the migrants were not always 'fugitives' who, in Edward Gibbon's words, escaped 'from the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms'.[18] They left their homes for many reasons – political, religious, economic and cultural.[19] George Trapezuntius, for example, left his native Crete for Italy as early as 1416, the island remaining secure under Venetian rule for another two centuries.[20] In addition, some Byzantines chose to remain in the Ottoman empire and acquired high positions there, such as Trapezuntius' friend George Amiroutzes.[21]

Besides prominent members of late-Byzantine intellectual and political life, there were also less learned and less eminent Byzantines who turned to the Italian peninsula, where they contributed to their host societies in various fields. In Venice, for instance, Byzantine migrants found employment in the city's naval and mercantile enterprise; they were rowers on Venetian galleys or carpenters in the Arsenal, or they worked as tailors or joined the *stradioti*, a corps of reputed Greek mercenaries. While the majority of Byzantine expatriates lived in Greek communities such as those in Naples and Venice, the members of the Byzantine elite were welcomed at the courts of Italian princes and popes in Florence, Urbino, Milan and Rome, or at Bessarion's Roman court next to the Church of the Santi Apostoli, which remained a home for many Byzantine intellectuals until the cardinal's death in 1472.[22]

The opinions and viewpoints of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy were not representative of those of their compatriots in general. The expatriate Byzantine intellectuals constituted one of several different elites in the post-Byzantine Greek-

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www.fhw.gr/projects/migration/15-19/gr/v2/bibliografia.html (August 1, 2012). A very short and accessible overview of the Greek diaspora throughout history is Kamperidis (2000).

[17] Harris (1995b) 24-38.

[18] Gibbon, ed. Bury (1926) 7: 129.

[19] Harris (1995b) 9-38.

[20] Harris (1995b) 23.

[21] On George Amiroutzes see, most recently, Monfasani (2011) and Janssens & Van Deun (2004) with up-to-date bibliographies.

[22] For some Greeks in Bessarion's circle see Mastrodimitris (1971) and Diller (1967); in the entourage of Lorenzo de'Medici Irmscher (1995); at the papal court in Rome Harris (2011) and Niutta (1990). On the relations of some of these intellectuals with the Greek communities of Italy see Pardos (1998) and Mauroeidi-Ploumidi (1971) 181-184.

speaking world besides, for instance, the Byzantine clergy and the Greek merchant class, which began to emerge later in the sixteenth century.[23] The Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy chiefly stemmed from the late-Byzantine aristocracy and had the attendant sophisticated education. While the first generation could boast a Byzantine education in Mistra, Constantinople or both, later generations received a humanist training together with their Italian hosts. Although they stemmed from all parts of the later Byzantine world (Constantinople, the Peloponnesus, the Greek islands, Thessaloniki, and the Pontic port of Trebizond), they all saw themselves together as Hellenes because they shared learning and language. Importantly, the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy were characterised by an outspokenly pro-western attitude. This not only means that they recognised and appreciated – sometimes grudgingly – Italian progress in the domains of art and scholarship.[24] It also means that they very often in addition converted to Roman Catholicism or at least adhered to the Union of the Churches of 1439.

For the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy this implied at the same time a rapprochement with Latin humanists and an estrangement from the majority of the Byzantine population and the clergy at home. Their rapprochement with the Latins was at least in part motivated by their views on the menace of the Ottoman Turks. In contradistinction to a large and influential part of the Byzantine clergy, many members of the Byzantine intelligentsia argued that the advance of the Ottoman Turks could only be halted with the assistance of the Latin West, and the papacy in particular. Depicting the Turk as a common enemy was one way to come closer to the Latin West and to move western powers towards a crusade to liberate the Holy Lands and to safeguard Constantinople.

The emergence of Italian humanism also improved mutual relations between Byzantine and Italian scholars. The last Palaeologan Renaissance had produced the kind of scholars the Italians sought in order to improve their knowledge of Greek and Greek literature. At the end of the fourteenth century, leading Florentine humanists had welcomed Manuel Chrysoloras as the restorer of Greek and Latin letters at their university (see pp. 81-82 below). The Florentine invitation of Chrysoloras initiated a tradition of Byzantine professors teaching in the West that was continued after the fall of Constantinople. Many of the men whose works I studied for this thesis – George Trapezuntius of Crete, Theodore Gaza, Johannes Argyropulus, Demetrius Chalcondylas, and Janus Lascaris – were involved in teaching activities in Italy. Very

[23] Falangas (2007).
[24] Harris (1995b) 42-43.

often, the Byzantine professors in the West combined their teaching with galvanising support for the Greek case. This confluence of interests and concerns brought it about that some members of the Italian and Byzantine elites resumed more harmonious relations. Still, it also opened the gates to new arenas of tension and conflict, as we shall see in particular in chapter 2, but also elsewhere in this study.

At the same time, the pro-western Byzantine intelligentsia alienated from the ecclesiastical elite in Constantinople and the majority of the Byzantine population. Generally, the Byzantine Greeks resisted a union with the Roman Church, and for many of them familiarity with Latin culture suggested sympathy with the Church of Rome. Some Greek adherents to union with Rome were forced to spend their last years in Rome.[25] Even if the majority of the late- and post-Byzantine population left the theological quarrels between Greeks and Latins to the theologians, the Fourth Crusade and the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–1260) remained an open wound.[26] After 1453, the Patriarchate of Constantinople became the cultural and administrative centre of the Greek-speaking world so that Hellenism became inextricably bound up with loyalty to the patriarchal institutions, and thus with chiefly anti-Roman or anti-Latin sentiments.[27] All this widened the gap between the pro-western expatriates and the Byzantine Greeks at home. At the same time, the fact that the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy did not see their own sympathy for Roman Catholicism as an impediment to identify with the Greek-speaking orthodox in itself shows that their sense of affinity with them was something that transcended religious divergences.

The Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy thus exemplify the sociological commonplace that there may exist divergence between the concerns and interests of self-proclaimed representatives and those they claim to represent.[28] Even if the Byzantine expatriates claimed to act as ambassadors of the Greek nation it is important to keep in mind that they did not voice common Byzantine views or sentiments. In other words, the sources studied in this book represent the viewpoint of only a very small segment of the late- and post-Byzantine population. If we want to understand their status in the Greek-speaking world they come closest to what has been labelled an *ethnie*, i.e. a named group with a sense of shared kinship and common memories, common cultural treats (of language and religion at least), and an association with an historic territory or homeland, even if

[25] Cf. Monfasani (2012) 40-44.
[26] Harris (2010) 63-64.
[27] Livanios (2008).
[28] Brubaker (2004) 19.

they no longer inhabit it. The members of such elitist *ethnies* typically consider themselves to be part of one distinctive people and have a sense of solidarity that is not by definition reciprocated by the wider population they feel part of.[29] With an eye on the sources, however, it is important to stress that viewpoints were hardly uniform as to what it meant to be a Greek, even if it seems that Byzantine expatriates did not go into debate over the particularities of their Greekness. The Conclusion will resume this point which emerges as one of the distinctive aspects of post-Byzantine Hellenism in Italy throughout the following chapters.

Status quaestionis: Contexts and narratives

In light of the thriving interest in issues of (national) identity and diaspora as well as the classical tradition, it might seem remarkable that the topic of this study has as yet remained underexposed. This is mainly due to the boundaries of traditional disciplines. Byzantinists ignored the issue as being too recent and too Italian, Hellenists saw it as being too Latin, and Neo-Latinists discarded it as being too Greek.[30] At the same time, the study of the Greek diaspora almost exclusively focused on modernity. Illustratively, the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* is keyed to 'the Greek experience from the late eighteenth century to the present', so that the period between the end of Byzantium and 'classical modernity' (defined as the period between 1453 and the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789) has generally fallen between the cracks. The Byzantines in Italy have mainly been studied by scholars working on the intellectual history of Europe, the national history of Greece, or both. As 'venerable scholars fleeing from Constantinople with the Greek classics under their arms', they have been understood as protagonists in a narrative of cultural reawakening and revival of antiquity that dominates our accounts of the Italian and, by extension, European Renaissance.[31] From the point of view of national

[29] Smith (1995) 28-29.

[30] The absence of an overview of the seminal Latin texts produced by Byzantine intellectuals was signalled by Jozef IJsewijn in the first part of his seminal *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, but has since then not been remedied. Remarkably, IJsewijn does not refer to the extensive and invaluable bibliography of Émile Legrand that – although its primary focus is providing bibliographical information about *Greek* publications by Greeks – also includes many useful references to Latin productions of Manilius Cabacius Rallus and Johannes Gemistus.

[31] Phrasing after Harris (2009). Also in other domains, this image gained currency through such various works as Gibbon's *History of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* and Friedrich Schöll's much translated history of Greek literature. It resonates in modern accounts of Byzantine emigration to Italy (such as Wells 2006) as well as in the novel about Constantine Lascaris by Abel Villemain (1837).

Greek history, they have been discussed as fellow Greeks, i.e. an integral part of the Hellenic community of origin or *omogenia*.[32] As far as they fit in the narrative of national accumulation the post-Byzantines of the diaspora are praised, but they equally run the risk of being rejected as traitors of the homeland.[33]

Historians of classical scholarship or Renaissance humanism have studied the Byzantine intellectuals in Italy chiefly in the context of textual transmission.[34] The emphasis on their role as transmitters of Greek learning is already apparent from the very first monographs on their lives and works, written by Humphrey Hody and Christian Friedrich Börner in the eighteenth century.[35] The titles of their works introduce the Byzantines as '*instauratores* of the Greek language' and tell us that they achieved the '*altera migratio* of Greek letters from Greece to Italy'.[36] Especially since the late nineteenth century, the philological and educational activities of the Byzantines in Italy have generated an impressive body of scholarship mapping their contribution to the preservation and dissemination of Greek learning in the West. These works often

[32] Cf. Anagnostou (2010) 85.

[33] Note that these two research orientations roughly resemble those of recent research regarding the modern Greek diaspora. Anagnostou (2010) demonstrated that the Greek diaspora in the US has been examined from a nation-centric perspective, the nation being either America or Greece. This means that either their Americanness was stressed to the detriment of Greekness, or vice versa.

[34] Harris (1995b) made the important point that cultural transmission was not the exclusive prerogative of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy. Few scholars have focussed on the tangible results of textual transmission from Byzantium to the West over and beyond the study of Greek literature. A notable exception is Glowotz (2006) who examines the fascinating role Byzantine expatriates played in the transmission of ancient musical theory.

[35] Before Börner and Hody, among others Jovius dedicated a few pages to the Byzantine scholars of Italy in his *Eulogia virorum illustrium* (first published in 1546). See Jovius, ed. Meregazzi (1972) 56-64 (= *El.* 23-64), discussing Manuel Chrysoloras, cardinal Bessarion, George Trapezuntius of Crete, Theodore Gaza, Johannes Argyropulus, Michael Marullus, Demetrius Chalcondylas, Marcus Musurus, and Janus Lascaris.

[36] Humphrey Hody (regius professor of Greek at Oxford from 1698) left a manuscript, posthumously published under the title *De graecis illustribus linguae graecae literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus* (Hody 1742). Before the publication of Hody's work, Christian Friedrich Börner had earned his PhD with a thesis called *De altera migratione Graecarum litterarum de Graecia in Italiam*, followed a year later by an additional study on the subject (Börner 1705, 1704). At the end of his academic career – spent as professor of theology at the university of Leipzig – Börner issued a synthesis in 1750, *De doctis hominibus Graecis litterarum Graecarum in Italia instauratoribus liber*. These learned volumes are full of obscure knowledge, and compile evidence concerning the *vitae* and *opera* of the Byzantine protagonists of Greek learning.

take the form of monumental catalogues listing manuscripts, printed books and Greek scribes,[37] or monographs keyed to the life and works of individual scholars.[38] Together these studies contribute a great deal to our knowledge about the ways in which Greek learning was disseminated, transmitted and digested. They paint the Byzantines in Italy as ardent collectors of Greek manuscripts and diligent scribes;[39] they show them at work as textual critics and reconstruct how they pieced together the first editions of our classics;[40] they evoke them teaching their language to students from all over Europe.[41] In

[37] Marie Vogel and Viktor Emil Gardthausen, for instance, inventoried the Greek copyists who produced manuscripts of Greek classics both long before and shortly after the advent of the printing press, while Émile Legrand listed and localised the works published in print by Greek editors during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Vogel & Gardthausen 1909 with Harlfinger 1974; Legrand 1885–1906 with Manoussakas & Staïkos 1987, Ladas & Chadzidimos 1976, and Iliou 1973).

[38] Classic examples include Henri Vast's studies on cardinal Bessarion and Janus Lascaris (Vast 1878a, 1878b), Ludwig Mohler's monumental three-volume work on cardinal Bessarion and his circle (Mohler 1923–1942), Börje Knös' monograph on Lascaris (Knös 1945) as well as Giuseppe Cammelli's pioneering biographies of Manuel Chrysoloras, Johannes Argyropulus and Demetrius Chalcondylas (Cammelli 1941–1954). Some of these scholars have recently received renewed monograph-length attention. See, most notably, for Manuel Chrysoloras Thorn-Wickert (2006); for cardinal Bessarion Monfasani (2009) and Bianca (1999); for Constantine Lascaris Martínez Manzano (1998, 1994), and for George Trapezuntius of Crete Monfasani (1984, 1976).

[39] On the scribal activities and aspects of the libraries of individual Byzantine scholars see, for example, Jackson (2003a, 2003b), Zorzi (2003, 2002), Fereri (2002), Antonopoulos (2000), Markesinis (2000), Gentile (1994), Manfredini (1994), Mioni (1994, 1975, 1971, 1967), Pontani (1992b), Bianca (1990, 1980), Coccia (1988), Labowsky (1980, 1979a, 1979b, 1965), Mastrodimitris (1971), Moraux (1970), Papademetriou (1970), Gasparini (1968), Fernández Pomar (1966), Diller (1967), Alfonsi (1949), Nolhac (1886), Dorez (1882), Vogel (1854, 1849). Monfasani (2012) 58-68 provides a list of émigré and visiting Greek copyist in the Renaissance.

[40] On the philological activities of individual Byzantine scholars see, for instance, Lauxtermann (2009), Beullens & Gotthelf (2007), Schiano (2007), Lautner (1995), Eleuteri (1994), Monfasani (1994b), Rigo (1992), Boter (1989) 261-278, Charlet (1987), Alfieri (1984), Keany (1982), Whittaker (1977b), Mioni (1968).

[41] Authoritative accounts of how Renaissance humanists learned their Greek are Ciccolella (2008) and Weiss (1977). For the contribution of the Byzantine scholars in Italy see esp. Ciccolella (2008) 118-149 with special emphasis on the Greek grammars of Manuel Chrysoloras, Theodore Gaza and Constantine Lascaris (118-124) and on the teaching method of Michael Apostoles (146-149). On the contribution of individual Byzantine scholars to the dissemination of the Greek language in Italy see further, for example, Pagliaroli (2004), Papademetriou (2000), Minnich (1988), Geanakoplos (1984b, 1976c, 1974a, 1974b), Monfasani (1984a), Clough (1964), Manoussakas (1963). Many surveys pay tribute to the Byzantines' distinctive contribution to the

other words, they reveal them as humanists in the Kristellerian sense of the word, i.e., as professional teachers, transmitters and disseminators of ancient erudition, devoted to the revival of antiquity.[42]

The present study is indebted to Kristeller's view that humanism was first and foremost a philological, rhetorical and educational movement. At the same time, it pays tribute to the conviction that the humanist movement was about more than the collection, transmission and dissemination of ancient texts alone. Humanists explored the Latin heritage of ancient Rome also outside the immediate context of classical scholarship and classroom education. This is equally true for their Byzantine colleagues. We shall see that, apart from transmitting ancient texts, they appropriated and explored them to make their own arguments.[43] Such humanist appropriations of the classical

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revival of Greek learning and classical scholarship in the West. See especially Monfasani (2012), Bianca (2010), Madafaz de Matos (2009), Saribalidou & Vassileiou (2007), Konstantinou (2006), Signes Codoñer (2003), Karamanolis (2003), Vranoussis (1986), Geanakoplos (1988, 1984a), Barker (1985) 11-20, Pertusi (1966), Hartmann (1958), Setton (1956), Zakythinos (1954). Monfasani (2012) 69-71 provides a list of émigré teachers of Greek in the Renaissance.

[42] The traditional alternative to Paul Oskar Kristeller's view of the humanist movement is that of Eugenio Garin; it states that humanism was a proto-Enlightenment philosophy of man. Although Garin's view is still in vogue in Italy, Kristeller's is now commonly accepted by scholars working both in the United States and in northern Europe. For both positions and their significance see in more detail Celenza (2004) 16-57. On Kristeller's view of humanism and a benign and nuanced criticism of it see especially Witt (2006). A concise contextualisation of Garin's views on humanism and humanist education is in Black (2001) 12-21. As for the post-Byzantine humanists, Karamanolis (2003) argued that they have too often been studied as *instruments of* rather than *participants in* the humanist movement. He wants to see the Byzantine scholars in Italy as a distinctive movement of Greek humanists operating alongside Italian, German and French humanists. Apart from the fact that it remains largely implicit what Karamanolis means by 'Greek', he did not engage with the general historiographical problem of humanism that is crucial to his argument.

[43] Especially since the late 1980s, scholars have paid more and more attention to the political-ideological implications of humanist scholarship. See, e.g., Grafton (1997, 1991, 1990) together with Grafton & Jardine (1986a). More recent studies regarding the political-ideological dimensions of humanist scholarship are Bizer (2011) about the ideological instrumentalisation of Homer in Renaissance France and Krebs (2011, 2005) about the ideological appropriation of Tacitus' treatise *Germania*. The fact that humanism was not restricted to philological scholarship and education also appears from Neo-Latin studies. The study of Neo-Latin literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries illuminates the many ways in which humanists exploited the classical tradition in political-ideological discourse. See on this topic in particular the useful introductions of Enenkel (2012) and Laureys (2012). For helpful overviews of the tendencies in historiography on Renaissance humanism in general see Hankins (2006) and Baker (2009) 1-37.

tradition distort the idea of a 'quiet and tidy' transmission of texts underlying most research about the Renaissance *translatio studii* from Byzantium to Italy.[44] Together, the next chapters confirm the idea that traditional accounts of cultural or textual transmission are in need of a reappraisal in so far as they do not take into account issues such as cultural identity and appropriation.[45]

Different scholarly cultures produce different historiographical narratives. Since national histories celebrate 'national accumulation' and resist national loss,[46] the fifteenth-century brain drain from Byzantium to Italy is notoriously problematic for Greek national historians. Some claimed that the Byzantine intelligentsia not only abandoned the national faith of the Greeks, but also left their people behind uneducated, an image confirmed by some contemporary Greek sources.[47] Other national historians, on the other hand, found reasons to praise the Byzantines and to incorporate them in their national narratives. They highlighted the contribution of the Byzantine diaspora in four domains of national accumulation: (1) the diaspora's preservation of the Greek heritage, (2) its arousal of philhellenism in the West, (3) its activities to liberate Greece, and (4) its role in the emergence of Greek national identity or consciousness. After the founder of modern Greek historiography Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, especially modern Greek historians writing about the history of

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The ancient past has retained much of its ideological function in modernity as the collected papers in Klaniczay, Werner & Gecser (2011) and Haagsma, Den Boer & Moormann (2003) amply demonstrate.

[44] For a criticism of the traditional idea of transmission for the study of early modern intellectual and literary culture see Grafton in Grafton & Blair (1990) 1-7. For a useful overview of the uses of the concept of *appropriation* in general and in medieval and early modern studies in particular see especially Ashley & Plesch (2002) 1-15, esp. 1-6.

[45] In a seminal and pioneering article, Anthony Cutler readdressed the transmission of artefacts from Byzantium to Italy from the perspective of Italian responses to Byzantine objects (Cutler 1995). It is notable that in general studies regarding cultural transmission and exchange in late medieval and early modern Europe, the case of the post-Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy remains underexplored or even unmentioned. See Hollengreen (2008), Burke & Hsia (2007), Höfele & Von Koppenfels (2005), Sorelius & Srigley (1994), Grafton & Blair (1990). See also the four volumes of *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Robert Muchembled (2006–2007), where the topic is only raised in Harris & Porphyriou (2007).

[46] Cf. Anagnostou (2010) 80, citing Laliotou (2004) 8.

[47] Harris (2000b) 27.

Hellenism such as Dionysios Zakythinos and Apostolos Vakalopoulos expounded upon these issues.[48]

These four forms of national progress are most frequently discussed in alternating combinations. Vakalopoulos, for example, emphasised both the post-Byzantines' role in the preservation of the Hellenic heritage and their arousal of philhellenism in the West through 'their literary and political earnestness, as well as the impact of their everyday discussions with foreigners'.[49] In this way, he brought the displaced Greek intelligentsia within the nationalist narrative of progressive national evolution.[50] As to the Byzantines' expatriate patriotism, some national historians insisted that the post-Byzantine diaspora had exerted its influence to liberate Greece and had promoted their country in the West. In this view, Byzantine expatriates become pioneers of the struggle for Greek liberation that materialised in the War of Independence (1821–1832). This line of argument was pursued, for instance, by Manoussos Manoussakas in a celebratory speech on the occasion of the 142nd anniversary of Greek Independence Day, on March 25 1963.[51] His brief discussion of the crusade appeals of Byzantine refugees actually reads as a rehabilitation of the Greek intelligentsia in the West. For Manoussakas, national Greek resistance to Ottoman domination had been an unbroken chain of uprisings starting in 1453 and climaxing with the Greek Revolution. Throughout his speech, he represented the post-Byzantine scholars in Italy as part of this continuous resistance against the Ottoman Turks. In his words, they became canonised as full-blown national heroes who had been one of the few sparkles of hope for the Hellenic nation in captivity. Needless to say, approaches such as that of Manoussakas often project modern nationalist aspirations back to fifteenth-century minds.

More generally, it has been noted in the scholarship that the post-Byzantine diaspora helped a kind of Greek national consciousness to emerge outside the sphere of influence of the patriarch in Constantinople. Deno J. Geanakoplos in particular argued that '[t]here can be little doubt that what, in the last analysis, made the Greek people feel

[48] Zakythinos (1976, 1965), Vakalopoulos (1961, 1970). Especially their preservation of the few traces of Hellenism during the Turkocracy was underlined in the pioneering Greek studies of Sathas (1863) and Paranikas (1867) in addition to the volumes of Kournoutos (1956).

[49] See esp. Vakalopoulos (1970) 234-255 (quotation from 263).

[50] Stressing that they preserved the Hellenic heritage to the benefit of all, Vakalopoulos also moored the Greek diaspora to European history, so suggesting the argument of cultural debt that the Byzantine scholars themselves had used in their attempts to win the West over for a crusade against the Turks (for example Janus Lascaris, as we shall see in chapter 3).

[51] Manoussakas (1965). Cf. Vakalopoulos (1970) 256-263 and see also Irmscher (1976, 1964, 1961).

different from all others was the knowledge of the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks and necessarily, a priori, a sense of identification with them as ancestors'.[52] In conjunction with this, he also claimed that their 'sense of individuation was often heightened by the attitude of Italian humanists, who not only admired their skill in ancient learning but sometimes flattered them as being the progeny of the ancients'.[53] These observations entail issues that are central to the topic of this study: the role of the ancient Greek past in the Byzantines' 'individuation' or self-identification, and the role of the Italian humanists in the emergence of this identification. After Geanakoplos wrote these lines in the 1970s, research in the humanities and the social sciences has provided us with concepts to understand better not only processes of identification, but also the role of the past in the way individuals construct images of the group with which they identify. In order to show how we may benefit from these insights, the next section clarifies some basic concepts and terms that underlie my discussion of 'Greek identity' in the Italian diaspora throughout this study.

Who needs Greek identity?

Throughout this study, Greek identity is understood in terms of self-representation. The advantage of the concept of self-representation is that it avoids the intuitive polysemy that haunts 'Greek identity' and that sends us *linea recta* into a conceptual marsh.

The word 'identity' has been used with so many meanings in so many domains within the humanities and social sciences that it has become a 'heavily burdened, deeply ambiguous term'.[54] In an important but underexposed article – titled 'Beyond Identity' – Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper therefore proposed to abandon the word altogether. They sensibly argue that for the sake of analysis we may better employ 'alternative analytical idioms that can do the necessary work without the attendant confusion'.[55] At the same time, it is important to stress that to abandon a word is not tantamount to abandoning the variegated concepts it entails. It rather prompts us to articulate as precisely as possible *what* we mean to investigate and so helps us to avoid merging different incongruous paradigms.[56] After a concise outline of the problems

[52] Geanakoplos (1976b) 174.
[53] Geanakoplos (1976b) 175.
[54] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 8.
[55] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 8-9, 14, 35-36.
[56] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 7 observe that in analyses of identity, we often find a conflation of constructivist vocabulary and essentialist argumentation.

entailed in the concept of identity in general and Greek identity in particular, I will introduce the concept of self-representation as an means to think about Greek identity in the Byzantine diaspora in Italy.

In order to substantiate their claim that identity is a burdened and ambiguous term, Brubaker and Cooper meticulously charted the various ways in which the concept is used in the humanities and social sciences and clustered them in two distinct currents. 'Hard' conceptions see identity as a fundamental predisposition or sameness, or even as a deeper essence that is the core of selfhood.[57] 'Soft' or 'weak' conceptions on the contrary conceive of identity as either the product of social and political action, or as the 'the evanescent product of multiple and competing discourses' with the result of being fundamentally unstable, multiple, fluctuating and fragmented.[58] While hard conceptions of identity are chiefly found in nationalist discourse and certain strands of psychological literature, soft conceptions are found in scholarship influenced by Michel Foucault, post-structuralism, and post-modernism, and they are also dominant in situationalist and contextualist accounts of ethnicity.[59] Apart from the fact that it does not contribute to the precision of analysis to use the same word for the extremes of immutability and fluidity and everything in between,[60] I see problems particularly in the ways in which such conceptions often implicitly frame the relation between what they understand as identity and the texts through which it is supposed to be articulated or shaped. 'Hard' notions of identity are generally overly historicist and reduce the performative role of texts to either reflecting or distorting the qualities that an identity self-evidently entails. 'Soft' notions, on the other hand, often lapse into presentism, or the idea that identity is only the product of present contingencies. While they unmask identities as discursive and contingent constructs, they have difficulties explaining how such constructions are historically loaded with meaning and significance and why they can elicit strong emotions of belonging or alienation. They often also lose sight of the role of the agents

[57] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) distinguish between (1) identity as a fundamental predisposition effectively motivating social and political behaviour on a non-instrumental basis; (2) identity as a fundamental sameness among members of a group or category, understood objectively (as a sameness in itself) or subjectively (as an experienced sameness), and manifesting itself in solidarity, in shared dispositions and consciousness, or in collective action; (3) identity as something allegedly deep, basic, abiding or foundational which must be distinguished from more superficial and contingent attributes of the self, i.e. a 'core aspect of selfhood'.

[58] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 8.

[59] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 6-8.

[60] Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 35.

who manipulate existing terms of reference variably in this or that direction and in so doing endow existing repertories of symbols and images with renewed meaning.[61]

The notion of 'Greek identity' itself is perhaps even more burdened than the word 'identity' alone (cf. pp. 3-4 above). Most problematically, the use of the rubric tacitly presupposes what 'Greek' means. As such, its usage often boils down to projecting back modern understandings of Greekness to the past. At worst it imposes modern tenets of Greek nationalism to fifteenth-century minds. This aprioristic and normative use of the concept is obviously problematic. In addition to this, the notion of Greek identity is heavily burdened by the fact that so many people today claim it for themselves or bestow sentiments of belonging upon it. In short, 'Greek identity' is a category of ethnopolitical practice perhaps not best suited to do serious analytical work.[62] A telling example of this is an interpretation of the Greekness of cardinal Bessarion, dating from the 1980s. At least one modern critic fiercely refused to call the cardinal a 'Hellene' because in his view Roman Catholicism was at odds with a Greek identity.[63] Even so, as we shall see in chapter 3, Bessarion himself left no doubt about the fact that he considered himself to be a Hellene who thought and behaved in line with the Greek tradition of his ethnic ancestors. In this case, modern perceptions of what it means to be a Greek govern the interpretation of the past. In order to avoid such pitfalls, and especially to shed light on what the Byzantine émigrés themselves had to say about what it meant to be Greek, I prefer to think in terms of self-(re)presentation.[64]

Self-(re)presentation and the uses of the ancient past

The sociological notion of self-presentation pares down the question of Greek identity to manageable analytical proportions. Self-presentation entails the basic and now commonly accepted sociological axiom that individuals attempt to present themselves to their target-audience in the way that is most favourable to their purposes in specific circumstances.[65] The dramaturgical image Erving Goffman originally used to explain the

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[61] Cf. Brubaker & Cooper (2000) 8.

[62] For the distinction between the two categories see Brubaker (2004) 10, 31-33.

[63] Zisis (1980) 215, 218.

[64] I will use the notion of identity only in its sense of close similarity (cf. *OED* s.v. 'identity' nr. 2). For a discussion of the provenance of the word see De Boer (2003).

[65] In cultural and literary studies, *self-presentation* (or the German *Selbstdarstellung*) is often used interchangeably with the much younger concept of *self-fashioning*. The terms must be kept separate. *Self-presentation* is a category from sociology and social psychology primarily associated with Erving Goffman's classic *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). *Self-fashioning*, on

idea is that of actors who perform their situation-specific roles in such a way as to provide their audience with an impression that is as consistent as possible with their desired goals.[66] Still, self-presentation must not be seen as a one-sided imposition of self-images. Expounding upon Goffman's dramaturgical model, Richard Jenkins analysed the dynamics of self-presentation in terms of internal and external 'moments' of identification. The internal moment refers to the way in which individuals present themselves and 'offer' their self-image for acceptance to their audience. The external moment denotes the way in which others identify them and respond to their representations of themselves (e.g. by accepting, rejecting, or modifying their self-image).[67] While the original dramaturgical interpretation of the concept by Erving Goffman has been criticised for being too artificial to study interaction in modern everyday life, it fits in very well with the notably self-conscious mode of humanist writing and the role of self-presentation therein.[68]

For literary and cultural scholars in particular, it is useful to make an explicit distinction between self-presentation as the social act or strategy of representation and self-*re*presentation as the specific representation or image that results from this social act.[69] Seen in this way, the sociological notion of self-presentation offers the contextual

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the other hand, was introduced by the cultural historian Stephen Greenblatt (1980) to capture the very different issue of the creation of new forms of subjectivity and subject positions in Renaissance art and literature (see for the background of Greenblatt's concept Pieters 2001: 39-65).

[66] Goffman (1959). It is perhaps needless to recall that self-presentation must be distinguished from psychological categories such as the self-concept or self-consciousness, which concerns the individual's authentic beliefs about who he or she really is.

[67] See Jenkins (2004) 15-26, 68-78.

[68] Note that Peter Burke argued that Goffman's notion of self-presentation is even more important for the study of the Mediterranean world in the past than it is for American society in the present. He even remarked that it is of 'obvious relevance' for Renaissance Italy (Burke 2005: 49). The role of self-presentation and social identification in humanist letter writing is discussed particularly in Van Houdt, Papy *et al.* (2002). For the implications of the highly crafted and self-conscious mode of humanist writing for humanist autobiographical writing see in particular Enenkel (2008).

[69] Normally, self-presentation and self-representation are used interchangeably, both in the social sciences and in the humanities. In the humanities, the designations are sometimes distinguished, albeit to different effects. So, for instance, Martin Huang refers to self-*re*presentation when an author discourses on his characters or 'created self', while he speaks of self-presentation when an author *explicitly* discourses on his own self (his 'revealed self') (Huang 1995: 48-49). As Huang understands both concepts as fundamentally intertwined, he consistently speaks of 'self-re/presentation'.

framework in which literary and cultural self-representations can be analysed. As I understand it, self-representations concern not only the self-image or *persona* individuals design, but also the representation of attributes with which they link this self-image (such as a certain in-group or a specific place). So, for instance, if a Byzantine émigré presents himself as a Greek patriot striving to regain his fatherland, his representation of his *patria* gives substance to his self-image as a Greek patriot.[70]

In Italy, the Byzantines' self-representation entailed an identification *as Greeks* and *with the ancient Greeks*. When they identified themselves *as Greeks*, they represented themselves as members of a group. For this reason, we must understand specific self-images as part of a wider process of social identification or self-presentation (pp. 19-21). At the same time, their identification as members of a Greek community hinged upon their strong sense of connection with the ancient Greeks, which implied a specific view on their relation with the ancient past (pp. 22-24).

When the Byzantines identified themselves *as* Greeks, they presented themselves as representatives of their *in-group* that they defined in relation to significant *out-groups*. Sociological theories of identity show that individuals who identify themselves as members of an in-group will normally enhance the image of the group by means of intergroup comparisons. These comparisons normally generate differences with the out-group in favour of the in-group, while differences *within* the in-group are minimised. The result is a form of *positive distinctiveness* that favourably marks off the in-group from the targeted out-group.[71] What determines favourable distinctiveness in a particular context is a historical variable. It seems that, in the fifteenth century, collective honour was the basic ingredient of in-group distinctiveness. Polemical antagonism with out-groups was important to assert this collective honour. One of the principal sources of collective honour was the antiquity of the in-group.[72] The Byzantines' identification with

[70] Although they are usually used as synonyms, the notion of self-presentation is sometimes narrowed down to *self-relevant images*, while impression management is used to denote the strategic representations of other entities than the self (see for this distinction Leary & Kowalski 1990).

[71] Among sociologists, there is debate about the motivation of such *distinctiveness*. There are two main schools. The founding fathers of social identity theory argued that in-group favoritism is motivated by value and status advantages for the in-group (Tajfel & Turner 1986). More recent research emphasises on the other hand that security motives rather than self-enhancement underlie in-group favouritism and speaks of *optimal distinctiveness* as the aim of social identification (Brewer 2007). On some similarities and differences between social identity theory and identity theory see Hogg, Terry & White (1995).

[72] Cf. Hirschi (2012) 78-103.

the ancient Hellenes, and the strong sense of superiority they derived from it, is consistent with this. I will come back to this below in my discussion of the importance of the past in the post-Byzantines' self-representation.

It is important to stress in this context that in order to be relevant for social interaction in- and out-groups need not exist in reality as 'mutually interacting, mutually oriented, effectively communicating, bounded collectivit[ies] with a sense of solidarity, corporate identity, and capacity for concerted action'.[73] Group rubrics such as 'Hellenes' or the 'Greek nation' not simply *invoke* groups that exist 'out there', but they also *evoke* or *constitute* them discursively even in historical contexts where no internally homogenous and externally bounded groups really exist.[74] Therefore we may speak of imagined groups or imagined communities.[75] This implies that group rubrics such as 'Italians' and 'Greeks' are not merely *descriptive*. They are also *prescriptive* and *evaluative*. To present oneself as a 'Greek' not only describes who one is, but also prescribes one's attitudes as a member of the group and furnishes an evaluation of the in-group with its individual members.[76]

Following Richard Jenkins' distinction between internal and external moments of identification, we must realise that Byzantine intellectuals in Italy did not only present themselves as Greeks, but also *were* identified as such. Previous case studies of Byzantine self-representation in the Italian diaspora have chiefly focused on the internal moment of identification, but paid little if any attention to the way Byzantines *were* identified by others.[77] Even so, this element is particularly important for our understanding of how they shaped images of themselves. As they formed a dependent minority and entirely relied upon the support of their target-audience to achieve their goals, they had to negotiate ways to be positively distinctive *without* losing the sympathy and benevolence

[73] The definition of Brubaker (2004) 12.

[74] Cf. Brubaker (2004) 7-27.

[75] The term 'imagined community' was famously coined by Benedict Anderson (1983), but in his usage the term implies a political community that is imagined as 'inherently limited and sovereign'. Even so, the idea is not restricted to political communities and can be applied to various kinds of groups, for which see in particular Brubaker (2004). A recent critique of Anderson is in Hirschi (2012) 20-33.

[76] Hogg, Terry & White (1995) 259-260.

[77] See in particular Glaser (2006) and Harris (2000, 1999). Harris discusses how George Amiroutzes and cardinal Bessarion could mutually identify despite their different religious and political loyalties, while Glaser took a group of seventeenth-century Greek Catholics associated with the St. Athanasios College in Rome to illustrate how they developed an 'alternative identity' for their compatriots besides their strictly Hellenic one.

of the Italians. In chapter 2, we shall see that Byzantines and Italians could interpret the import of the Greek rubric very differently. Such evaluative implications of the Greek rubric appear best from the *stereotypes* with which Italians characterised the Byzantine Greeks in direct confrontations with them; these were the signs Byzantines would anticipate in their self-(re)presentation.[78] The total sum of positive and negative stereotypes attached to a group typically amounts to a complex and often internally conflicting image which is sometimes called the *imageme* of a group.[79] From the Romans the Italians indeed inherited a wide array of conflicting stereotypes they could apply to the Byzantine Greeks, for better or worse.[80] Some of these stereotypes (e.g. the idea that the Greeks were in their nature hostile to the Latins) were clearly discrediting and even socially disruptive. In these cases, we speak of *stigmatisation*, which often results in marginalisation and discrimination.[81]

As representatives of a stereotyped out-group, the Byzantine expatriates in Italy manipulated Italian stereotypes and averted the effects of potential stigmatisation, while they also tried to maximise the positive distinctiveness of the Greeks collectively.[82] Depending on the circumstances, they could follow several routes. So, for instance, Byzantine intellectuals generally highlighted those elements of their *imageme* that were outspokenly positive so as to minimise the risk of reputation damage. If they were discredited, on the other hand, they could undermine the credibility of their detractors by revealing the inconsistency of their evaluation of the Greeks, as did George Trapezuntius of Crete (see chapter 4, pp. 139-140). Although increasing intergroup contact (as that between Byzantines and Italians) normally reduces the power of stereotypes and creates room for more differentiated evaluations of members of

[78] Although Italians used long-standing intergroup stereotypes (see chapter 2), the period under scrutiny predates the systematisation of intergroup stereotyping in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that is particularly visible in neo-Aristotelian poetical writing in the wake of Scaliger, most notably in De La Mesnardière's *Poétique* of 1642 (Leerssen 2000: 272).

[79] Leerssen (2000) 278-280. The historically contextualised study of modern national *imagemes* is imagology, on which see in particular Leerssen (2006a, 2000). For an introduction to the field, see also the contributions in Beller & Leerssen (2007) 3-75.

[80] I here follow the trend in cultural and literary studies to regard stereotypes as discursive objects and not as mimetic representations of reality (Leerssen 2000: 270). Stereotypes function because of their intertextually established recognisability and often have a textually unspecific origin and 'every one knows'-effect (Leerssen 2000: 285-286).

[81] The term *stigma* was introduced by Goffman (1963).

[82] Although his focus lies elsewhere, the Italian audience is recognised as important by Glaser (2006) 202-203.

recognised out-groups, we shall see that humanist stereotyping was rather conservative in this respect.

The very rubric 'Ἕλληνες' which the post-Byzantines used to identify themselves in Greek related them to the ancient Greeks, while they also explicitly referred to themselves as 'children of the ancient Hellenes' or to fellow Greeks as 'autochthones of ancient Hellas'. This brings us to the second aspect of the Byzantines' self-representation that is in need of some clarification, i.e. their identification *with* the ancient Greeks. While social theories about identity are especially useful to understand the group aspect of their self-images, memory studies may help us to understand their role in the representation of the Greek past. Especially within the humanities it has been shown that the construction of a shared or common past through artistic media such as literature and architecture provides individuals with a sense of belonging to a wider imagined community. This common past is considered to be *constructed* in so far as it is a *representation* of an individual's view of the past that he claims to share with the larger community of his in-group. Some events are foregrounded, while others are omitted. Also originally unrelated events may be related (*lumping*), while related events can be separated in order to form new narratives of the past (*splitting*).[83]

As the past is always recreated in the present, representations of it are liable to manipulation and instrumentalisation, especially in such contexts where rules for its reconstruction are loose. In such cases, representations of the past are often keyed to the benefit of the in-group in relation to others.[84] On the other hand, such an instrumentalist view on representations of the past should not lead to presentism, or the idea that the present entirely dominates views on the past. Especially where the authority of tradition counts as important – as is clearly the case with the fifteenth century – new versions of the past must somehow be anchored in ancient sources and authorities, even if they had to manipulate them for it. So, for example, when Gemistos Plethon represented the Romans of the East as Hellenes, he mined the ancient sources for clues to legitimise the identification of Romans with Greeks (see chapter 1, pp. 41-43). In our case studies, we shall find more examples of this kind. When, for instance, Janus Lascaris tried to prove that Latins and Greeks could be considered one and the same people, he relied on

[83] My mnemonic terminology in these lines mainly relies on Eviatar Zerubavel (2003) 25-27, 29-31, 61, 86-88. A concise and critical overview of recent memory studies and its main debates is in Koning (2007) 2-7.

[84] In this context we often speak of *intentional history* (Gehrke 2001: 285) or *usable pasts* (Anagnostou 2010).

authorities such as Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see chapter 6). To renew versions of the past required ancient authorities to legitimise them.[85]

For our understanding of how the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy related to 'their' ancient Greek past, it is important to realise that the ancient past which they shared transcended their own lifetime. This marked distance between the present and the remembered past typically requires experts who preserve the past and are able to interpret it. While memories of relatively recent events are formed by live interaction of witnesses, the more remote past needs more to be preserved and kept alive.[86] Apart from storage it often demands special linguistic skills and historical knowledge to understand and assess it in the first place. The representation of the past in addition requires access to the proper means to represent and to disseminate the representation of it.[87] Fifteenth-century humanists generally presented themselves as such experts; they as a rule regarded themselves as the restorers and guardians of the Greco-Roman past.[88] Therefore, they claimed an important social role in the quest of many different kinds of groups – from families and small cities to nations – for cultural precedence and antiquity. By virtue of their knowledge of ancient literature, humanists were best qualified to demonstrate the antiquity of groups. They went out of their way to trace

[85] It must be noted that especially in cultural studies and related disciplines, the importance of repertories of pre-existing images and symbols has been stressed in various contexts and with different nuances, classically by Aby Warburg in art history, and later most notably by, e.g., Jan Assmann in memory studies (see esp. Assmann 1988), Anthony D. Smith in nation studies (see esp. Smith 2009) and recently for instance also in the domain of reception studies in the framework of the collaborative research centre *Transformationen der Antike* at the Humboldt Universität in Berlin.

[86] In memory studies, this distinction is often seen as a distinction between 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory'. While communicative memory concerns the remembering of recent events by witnesses who are equally competent, cultural memory refers to the conservation of an ancient past by a group of trained experts who have codified the past (chiefly in script). This distinction has famously been made by Assmann (2000) 37-44. Its most important criticism is that communicative memory is not as egalitarian as it may seem and that power relations come into play almost immediately after an event has taken place (see esp. Sluiter & Visser 2004).

[87] In memory studies, increasingly more attention has been given to the specific media through which memory is conveyed and shaped, on which see particularly Erll & Rigney (2009) and Erll & Nünning (2004).

[88] This is not to say, on the other hand, that their interpretation of the ancient past was uniform at all. Traditional memory theory (best exemplified by the seminal studies of Jan Assmann) has been criticised for the idea that cultural memory is 'definitive' and there has increasingly been focus on diversity and debate. Cf. Koning (2010) 4-5.

their origin back to ancient heroes, they invented founding myths that related their community to the ancient past, they appropriated ancient heroes and cultural icons as 'theirs' and pointed at significant places (or *lieux de mémoire*) that associated the present with the past.[89] In Italy, the Byzantine intelligentsia appropriated this function for the Greeks.

The next chapters in particular zoom in on *historical continuity* or *quasi-contiguity* with the ancient past in the Byzantines' self-representation. This involves techniques not only to connect non-contiguous points in history, but also to connect these to the present. In other words, it involves means of *mnemonic pasting*.[90] How did the Byzantines in Italy manage to establish an impression of contiguity between themselves and the ancient Greeks? How did they, for instance, connect the eastern Romans and the Hellenes, whom we lump together as 'Byzantines'? Or how did they see the relation between, for example, Themistocles and the Hagia Sophia? Apart from the 'mnemonic significance of names',[91] they invented more strategies to assert their connection with the ancient Greek past, e.g., by claiming ethnic descent from the ancient Hellenes, or by introducing small plots of Greek history in which they could position themselves and their fellow Greeks.[92]

Sources and limits

Although the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy were preoccupied with ancient Greece, the sources used for my investigation are atypical to investigations of how early modern intellectuals used the ancient past.[93] There was no corpus of historiography available. Byzantine scholars in Italy did not write extensive Greek histories in humanist fashion; they did not produce their own Flavii Blondi or Beati Rhenani in exile. Perhaps this is due to the fact that there was no authority that commanded such histories. They did contribute, on the other hand, to the historiography of the Ottoman Turks (as did

[89] Many of these concepts were coined in the context of the study of modernity, yet they are widely applied outside the realm of modern history. See, for example, Lambert (2001), showing how concepts such as *invented traditions* and *lieux de mémoire* can be used to study early modern phenomena.
[90] Cf. Zerubavel (2003) 40, 52-54.
[91] Zerubavel (2003) 52.
[92] Such narrative constructs regarding the place of one's in-group in the world are also known as 'myths' on which see Lammersen-Van Deursen (2007) 22-23.
[93] Cf. Lambert (2001) 74-76.

Nicolaus Secundinus) or the Republic of Venice (as did Thomas Diplovatatius).[94] The only attested self-standing work of history reputedly composed by a Byzantine expatriate of the early diaspora is now lost, except for seven third-handedly transmitted and translated pieces.[95] The other works of Greek history composed by Byzantine intellectuals appeared to be the shrewd inventions of 'Prince' Demetrios Rhodokanakis who, in the nineteenth century, forged them so as to substantiate his awkward claims to Roman imperial descent.[96] The preoccupation of Italian humanists with Greek antiquity equally presents us with a paradox. Despite their virtual obsession with Greek antiquity, Italian humanists did not compose self-standing histories about the Greeks either in antiquity or in later eras.[97] In this, they differed from their northern colleagues such as Wolfgang Lazius who did for Greece what Flavius Blondus had done for Italy in his *Italia illustrata*.[98] So, until the publication of Lazius' *Commentarii rerum graecarum*

[94] On Thomas Diplovatatius see Mazzacane (2001), Ascheri (1971), Koeppler (1936), Kantorowicz (1919), Hortis (1905). The best entry to Secundinus is still Mastrodimitris (1970), but see also Babinger (1965). An edition of Secundinus' history with a good introduction is in Philippides (2004).

[95] It concerns an allegedly lost historiographical work of Janus Lascaris. See the invaluable contribution of Braccini (2006) with the fragments on pp. 103-112. I left out of consideration Constantine Lascaris' Greek *Synopsis* (*Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*), surviving in BNE, Cod. Matr. 4621, as this is as its name indicates a summary of George Monachos' ninth-century chronicle, enriched with a list of Byzantine emperors from Basil I (867) until the last one, and an overview of the vicissitudes of the descendants of Manuel II Palaeologus (see Martínez Manzano 1998: 119-122). A notable historiographical source from the later diaspora is the *Chronicon maius*, previously misattributed to George Sphrantzes, but now commonly attributed to Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, the metropolitan of Monemvasia. Apart from the fact that it dates from 1580, it only covers the history of the Palaeologan period until 1477 (see on it Philippides 2008 with a useful bibliography).

[96] Legrand (1895) and Kekule von Stradonitz (1908) 186-188. Rhodokanakis invented 24 titles in total.

[97] Cf. Weiss (1969) 131-144, observing something similar for the humanist interest in Greek antiquities and the discovery of the Greek world. In Ishigami-Iagolnitzer (1989) the theme is conspicuously absent.

[98] The first self-standing history of Greek history is Wolfgang Lazius' *Commentariorum rerum graecarum libri II* (Vienna, 1558). A second edition was published in Hannover in 1605 (under the title *Historicarum commemorationum rerum Graecarum libri II*). Lazius' history was preceded by Nicolaus Gerbelius' commentary (Basle, 1550) to Sophianos' map of Greece (Rome, ca. 1540). To my best knowledge Gerbelius' *Pro declaratione picturae sive descriptionis Graeciae Sophiani libri VII* is the first monograph-length study of historical geography exclusively devoted to Greece and published in Latin in the early modern period. For the first extensive history of modern Greece under Ottoman domination we have to wait until Martinus Crusius' *Turcograeciae libri VIII*

(1558), we find no Greek pendant to such works as Blondus' history of the Italian peninsula, Rhenanus' German history or Lazius' own Austrian history. Leonardus Brunus' *Commentarius de rebus graecis* (composed in the 1440s) can be regarded as 'the first serious work of Greek history by a Latin author since antiquity',[99] but is in fact a compilation of Xenophon.[100]

Yet even if there was no solid body of humanist historiography, the texts Byzantine scholars produced in Italy amply testify to their preoccupation with the classical tradition and ancient Greece in particular. I went through speeches, inaugural lectures, epigrammatic collections, letters, invective treatises as well as paratexts attached to editions that Byzantines prepared for the Italian humanists. These sources showed how central the ancient past was in late- and post-Byzantine self-representation, how the Byzantine intelligentsia substantiated claims of continuity with the past despite the clear signs of discontinuity they themselves recognised, and how they used their privileged relation to the past to, for example, substantiate their claims to Greek liberation and cultural superiority. As to the external moment of identification, the attitudes of Italian humanists vis-à-vis Greeks surface not only in their letters and speeches, but also in their historiographical works, where they adopt the bias of their medieval sources and call the Byzantines 'Graeci' (as far as I have been able to see without notable exceptions).[101]

In what follows, I focus on the early Byzantine diaspora in Italy in 'the long fifteenth century' (ca. 1390–1520), i.e., on the period of the first decades of Byzantine migration to Italy. There seems to be an almost natural break between the first three generations of expatriate Byzantines who lived and worked in Italy (exemplified by cardinal Bessarion, Janus Lascaris, and Marcus Musurus) and the next generation of eminent Greek scholars that emerged only in the second half of the sixteenth century. While Lascaris died in 1534 – outliving most of the younger generation – the most notable post-

(Basle, 1584). On the views on antiquity of Lutheran humanists in particular see Ben-Tov (2009; forthcoming).

[99] Hankins (2003) 262.

[100] The ways in which knowledge about Greek antiquity was collected, digested and disseminated is a still underexplored research topic (but see Ben-Tov 2009). Elsewhere I intend to explore in particular further routes through which ancient Greece could become a self-standing topic of historical reflection in the early modern period (e.g. through historical geography).

[101] As a sample, I examined (in alphabetical order): Accoltius (1544); Bembus, ed. Ulery (2007); Blondus (1483), *id.*, ed. White (2005); Bergamensis (1485); *Conciliorum*, ed. Alberigo & Dossetti (1973); Cribellus, ed Zimolo (1948); Maphaeus (1511); Palmerius, ed. Scaramella (1906); Philelfus, ed. Gualdo Rosa (1964); Piccolomineus, ed. Van Heck (1984); Platina, ed. Guido (1913); Sabellicus (1535).

Byzantine intellectuals after him, such as Maximus Margunius, Johannes Cottunius, and Leonardos Philaras were born in, respectively, 1549, 1577 and as late as 1595 (a notable exception is Franciscus Portus who – being born in 1511 – spent most of his life in Geneva). In the first half of the sixteenth century, moreover, the situation of Greeks changed in many significant ways. To name just a few. With the Counter-Reformation in Italy the atmosphere grew less favourable to the study of Greek and the Greeks. Moreover, most of the Byzantines coming to the West in the course of the sixteenth century were not from the Turkish-dominated mainland, but from territories held by Venice and Genoa. Unlike most fifteenth-century intellectuals they generally came to the West not to teach, but to learn.[102] Apart from the persistent presence of Byzantine scholars in Italy, moreover, we find an increasing number of them in the north, where Lutheran humanists in particular became interested in modern Greek history and contemporary Greeks.[103] In other words, the reality to which Byzantine migrants had to respond, not only in Italy, but also north of the Alps, changed profoundly from the first half of the sixteenth century onwards.

It is a well-known fact that Byzantines traditionally tapped from the sources of ancient Rome and Greece as well as Scripture and the history of the Church.[104] This study focuses on the post-Byzantine appropriation of Rome and Greece, and on how Rome dissolved in Greece's shadow. Scripture and the history of the Church are, on the other hand, outside its general scope. Given the importance of the subject, the religious dimensions of post-Byzantine self-representation would merit a treatment of their own, if only to complement the image painted in this study.[105] Needless to say, wherever the Byzantines' engagement with ancient Greece and Rome intersects with their interpretation of Christianity – as in the case of George Trapezuntius of Crete – I will not blot it out.

Outline of the work

This work is organised in two parts. The first introduces the reader to the Byzantines' traditional stance on Hellenism and its development in the fifteenth century (chapter 1)

[102] Cf. Glaser (2006) 204.

[103] On Lutheran humanists and Greek antiquity see Ben-Tov (2009).

[104] Kaldellis (2007) 317.

[105] The Byzantines' activities in the field of biblical and patristic studies have received scholarly attention (see, e.g., the remarks in Stinger 1997 and Geanakoplos 1976: 265-280), even though they have not been discussed in the context of their self-representation (but see in this context Geanakoplos 1976: 3-170, esp. 36-54). See also Kany (2001).

as well as to the changing circumstances of the Byzantines' self-representation after their move to Italy (chapter 2). This is necessary to understand the particular instances of self-representation worked out in the case studies in the second part. The first chapter shows that the late-Byzantine identification with the ancient Hellenes was a radical innovation against the backdrop of traditional means of self-representation in Byzantium. In addition, the chapter shows that the Greekness of the post-Byzantine scholars must be seen as part of a wider evolution in self-representational habits going back to Byzantium itself. How Italian humanism stimulated the distinctively Greek self-representation of the Byzantine intelligentsia is the subject of the second chapter. It outlines the ways in which Byzantine intellectuals in Italy presented themselves as Hellenes or Greeks against the background of how Italian humanists perceived of the Byzantines. It shows that Byzantines in Italy had good reasons to present themselves as Greeks, even if the Greek rubric could equally work as a stigma for them. The chapter argues that Byzantines in Italy had not much choice other than to adopt the Greek rubric which the Italians traditionally assigned to them.

The second part of the work offers four case studies. While the second chapter demonstrates that the Byzantines presented themselves exclusively as Greeks and Hellenes rather than Romans, the case studies together show that we must not construe this in terms of a coherent and homogeneous set of beliefs about what it meant to be Greek. They exemplify different forms and functions of Greek self-representation. The third chapter shows how the concept of Hellenic freedom (or 'ἐλευθερία') constituted the self-representation of the most famous Byzantine expatriate in Italy, cardinal Bessarion, both before and after his move to Italy. The concept of Hellenic freedom gives an ideological coherence to Bessarion's views on Hellenism that has hitherto remained unnoticed in the scholarship. At the same time, the chapter reveals his dissimulation of Greekness in contexts where he had to play the role of the Roman cardinal for a Latin audience, which points at the limits of self-representation he apparently experienced. In the fourth chapter, the case of George Trapezuntius of Crete shows how shared Greekness could be invoked to motivate social attitudes and political action, and how Trapezuntius saw the place of the Greeks in history. While Bessarion's *Orationes contra Turcas* have often been cited as proof of the cardinal's persistent Hellenism and Greek patriotism, the case of Trapezuntius has on the contrary been put forward as an example of how cosmopolitan humanism could eclipse Greek patriotism. However, a detailed review of Trapezuntius' self-representation shows that if anything

he did not abandon his Greek background, and that ancient Greece is omnipresent in his works.

While the previous chapters generally emphasised the role of ancient Greece in forging a sense of Greek distinctiveness or alterity for the Byzantines, the fifth chapter shows how Byzantine intellectuals in Italy could also use it to *bridge* the cultural gap with their Italian colleagues. Taking Janus Lascaris' *Florentine Oration* as a starting point, it shows how he created common ground between Greeks and Latins of past and present in the form of an ethno-cultural Greco-Latin continuum from the very origins of both peoples up to the fifteenth century. Paradoxically, Lascaris did so without losing the Greek claim to absolute cultural superiority. The chapter shows that Lascaris' speech was more than an expression of 'nationalistic prejudice'. Together with Constantine Lascaris' *Vitae philosophorum*, it aptly illustrates that Byzantine scholars were able to play on the perceptions Italian humanists had both of themselves and of others in order to win over their Italian audience for their case.

The sixth and final chapter focuses on what seems to be the first explicitly politico-territorial image of Greece. On the basis of Johannes Gemistus' *Protrepticon et pronosticon* to pope Leo X (1516), it addresses the problem of territoriality in the self-representation of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy. Even though Byzantine scholars and diplomats exerted all their energies to galvanise western powers against the Ottoman Turks so as to liberate their homeland, they were notably tacit about how they imagined this homeland in past or future. Was it the Palaeologan kingdom they left before the Turkish conquest? Was it the unification of all Greeks under one Greek king? Was it to include parts of Asia such as the former kingdom of Trebizond, or was it a fundamentally European country? Gemistus boldly addressed these issues in his poem. While he spoke in terms of restoration, his image of 'Graecia' did not correspond to any political, territorial or cultural unity before 1516. As a bricolage of elements from Latin sources Gemistus' image of Greece shows how Byzantine intellectuals appropriated Latin sources and discourses to create a sense of Greek distinctiveness.

Together, the case studies offer insight in the various ways Byzantine scholars in Italy represented themselves, their fellow Byzantines and their homeland, and how and why they used the ancient Greek past in this. Yet they do not intend to offer an exhaustive or comprehensive overview. I could have discussed many more Byzantine expatriates, such as Michael Marullus and, slightly later, Marcus Musurus. In the end, I decided to select those cases for inclusion that added both to the general theme of my study and to our

understanding of the individual authors under study.[106] All cases in one way or the other exemplify Caspar Hirschi's astute observation that 'pre-modern people tended to be particularly inventive when denying their inventions'.[107] Although the Hellenism of the late- and post-Byzantine intelligentsia entailed something radically new in the form of a sense of ethno-cultural Greekness, they represented it as if it was self-evidently ancient so as to legitimise their precious possession of it.

[106] This is why I eventually left out, for example, Michael Marullus. Particularly his Hellenism has found ample treatment in recent scholarship. So, for instance, Marullus' Greekness has been discussed with different emphases in Enenkel (2008), Haskell (1998), Deisser (1996), Kidwell (1989) and Zakythinos (1928). Bibliographical references regarding Marullus can be found in, most recently, Jansen (2009), Lamers (2009) and the collected papers in Lefèvre & Schäfer (2008).

[107] Hirschi (2012) 31.

part 1

Chapter 1

Hellenism and Greekness in Late Byzantium

Who were the Byzantines? The answer to the question obviously depends on how we intend to read it. But if we look at how the Byzantines positioned themselves in their narratives of the past, and if we examine the names they used for themselves, we can only conclude that they saw themselves as the inheritors of the Roman empire, referring to themselves as 'Ρωμαῖοι' ('Romans') and to their country as Rhomaïs.[108]

This answer is not uncontroversial. The word 'Byzantines' itself obscures more than it reveals. It is an invention of sixteenth-century scholarship,[109] and the Byzantines themselves normally only used it to refer to the inhabitants of Constantinople.[110] While they called themselves 'Ρωμαῖοι', there is a notable resistance to call them Romans both in national Greek and in western scholarship. Recently, it has been argued that the denial of a Roman identity to Byzantium must be seen as the result either of western claims to the Roman legacy, or of Greek national claims to Hellenic continuity in Byzantium.[111] Western scholarship has generally refused to call the Byzantines 'Romans' because it saw the Roman legacy as primarily Latin and often also Roman Catholic, preferring labels such as 'Greeks', 'medieval Greeks', 'Byzantines', or 'orthodox' to refer

[108] Bibliography on this topic is huge. For an extensive bibliography on the subject I refer to Kaldellis (2007a) 411-452 and Kaldellis (2012a) in the notes. A very short and accessible overview on the Roman label throughout Byzantine history see Chrysos (2010b). On the complex history of the ethnonym 'Hellene' see especially Christou (1991), Hunger (1987), and Jüthner (1923). Very short overviews of the matter are Hall (2000), Chrysos (2010a), and also Carras (2000). For the emergence of the Hellenic label in antiquity see most notably Hall (2002) 125-171.

[109] Diverging from common opinion (ascribing the invention of the word to Hieronymus Wolf) Ben Tov (2000) 106-109 argued that it was Johannes Oporinus who derived the word 'Byzantine' from Chalkokondyles' definition of the word as a 'broader political term'.

[110] The coterminous words of 'Byzantinism' and 'Medieval Hellenism', understood as the millenary culture of the eastern Roman empire, was not adopted in Greek historiography until the nineteenth century as it was considered a foreign invention of European intellectuals. It was only from the 1880s, with classicism giving way to romanticism, that a really Byzantinocentric historiography could develop in Greece, and the term 'Byzantine' was commonly used. On this see in more detail Argyropoulos (2001) 30-32, Huxley (1998), Politis (1998).

[111] This is argued most extensively in Anthony Kaldellis' forthcoming monograph on Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Kaldellis forthcoming b), but see in the meantime Kaldellis (2012a).

to the eastern Romans of Byzantium.[112] Greek national historians, on the other hand, preferred to call the Byzantines Greeks rather than Romans, as this enabled them to emphasise continuity from ancient Greece via Byzantium to the nation-state Hellas. This 'mystic marriage of Pericles and Theodora', of ancient Greece and Byzantium, was consummated in the nineteenth century, when the father of Greek national historiography Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos introduced the idea of Hellenic Byzantinism.[113]

In this context, it is good to realise that to name the Byzantines Romans is not to say that they were not Greeks or *vice versa*. The Byzantines' relation to the Greek and Roman pasts – both pagan and Christian – varied over time and even among contemporaries.[114] Still, it is safe to say that during most of their history the people we now call Byzantines most intensively identified with the Romans, not with the Hellenes. If they did, it was mainly because they shared a language with them.[115] The identification with the Hellenes in an ethnic rather than cultural or linguistic sense is very much restricted to several moments in Byzantine history as well as to small groups or even eccentric individuals in Byzantine society. In different philosophical and literary constellations cultural Hellenism emerged especially in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[116] but identifications with the Hellenes as ancestors of the Byzantines collectively were mainly restricted to the latest period. Hellenism finally gained special momentum in the fifteenth century, and eventually 'survived' mainly in the post-Byzantine diaspora. For this reason, it is useful to briefly introduce the Byzantines' traditional views on their relation with the Greek past and outline how it changed over time, especially in the fifteenth century. Of course, it cannot be my purpose here to cover the fifteenth century extensively, nor to fill the virtual two-century gap between circa 1300 and 1500 in the secondary literature regarding Hellenism in the Byzantine world.[117] For that reason alone, I confine myself to sketching those evolutions in late-Byzantine views on Greekness in the fifteenth century that help us to see diasporic Hellenism both against the background of traditional Hellenism in Byzantium,

[112] Kaldellis (2007a) 3, 43, 83, 112-114, 338, 376.
[113] Mango (1965) 40-42. A detailed study on the ways in which late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Greek intellectuals construed Byzantium see Argyropoulos (2001).
[114] Kaldellis (2007a) 317, 391-392.
[115] See the pioneering an important studies of Page (2008) and Kaldellis (2007a) that have been of fundamental importance to my understanding of Byzantine self-understanding.
[116] The fascinating history of Hellenism in Byzantium is traced in Kaldellis (2007a).
[117] The most recent studies are Page (2008) and Kaldellis (2007a).

and as part of a wider cultural movement of an increasingly radical Hellenism originating in Byzantium.

Hellenes among the Romans

For the Romans of the East, the Hellenes had traditionally been a foreign people whose language they imitated, whose rhetorical theory they studied and applied, and whose philosophy they scrutinised through the lens of scriptural truth.[118] But they were a *foreign* people, and the study of their language and culture was 'outward learning' ('θύραθεν παιδεία') in contradistinction to 'our learning' ('ἡμέτερα παιδεία') or Christian theology. In the Byzantine sources, the Hellenes represented (a) geographically, the inhabitants of the area of mainland Greece or, more specifically, the Byzantine province of Hellas;[119] (b) historically, the ancient Greeks perceived as a remote and foreign people in the past; (c) linguistically, those who had received education in the Greek classics ('παιδεία') and, through imitation, spoke and wrote in the language of the ancient Greeks; and (d) religiously, those who adhered either to the religious beliefs of the Hellenes or to any other religion considered non-orthodox, so that the word became a shortcut-term for pagan without reference to language, origin or religion.

If the Byzantines referred to themselves as Hellenes, they did so in order to emphasise their competence in ancient Greek and their knowledge of ancient Greek literature, both secular and Christian. In this sense, the word 'Hellene' served to distinguish the intellectual elite from the majority of the population, not trained in classical oratory, poetry, and philosophy. So, for example, in some contexts, it served the elite of Constantinople to dissociate themselves from the provincials, despising them for their lack of Attic Greek and their less sophisticated knowledge of ancient Greek language and literature.[120] At another level, it served those same elites to create a sense of cultural superiority vis-à-vis a threatening and barbarian other, either the Turks, or the Latins.[121]

It was not until the thirteenth century that Byzantine intellectuals began to present themselves increasingly as Hellenes. Intensifying opposition to the Latin West probably

[118] Cf. De Vries-Van der Velden (2011) 110.

[119] Until the fourteenth century, Hellas generally signified the parts of the Greek peninsula north of the Peloponnesus (Attica, Boeotia, Aetolia, and Acarnania), but in subsequent authors it might include the Peloponnesus as well. Cf. Runciman (1952) 25. On the issue of imagining Greece before Greece see also chapter 6 below.

[120] Page (2008) 49-51.

[121] Kaldellis (2007a) 295-301, 334-388.

played a major role here. Relations between Byzantines and Latins reached a critical moment during the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Latin troops trampled Constantinople and established a Latin empire that lasted until 1261, when Michael VIII Palaeologus recovered Constantinople and Baldwin II went into exile. As the Latins had their own claims to the Roman tradition – both culturally and politically – the Byzantines had to readdress their own Romanity. Moreover, they had to accommodate the fact that the Latin Romans denied to the Byzantines their Romanity and called them 'Greeks' ('Graeci') (on which see also below, chapter 2, pp. 57-65). Initially, the Byzantines did not accept the Greek rubric and used the Greek equivalent ('Γραικός') mainly ironically or when put in the mouth of a westerner.[122]

Even so, they designed an alternative Hellenic image for themselves. Especially in the empire of Nicaea (one of the successor states after the Latin conquest of Byzantium in 1204) Byzantine intellectuals emphasised their privileged access to Hellenic learning. Their Hellenism could distinguish them from the Latins, who could not lay claim to this cultural legacy even if they now claimed Roman power in the East. It must be noted, however, that this Hellenism did not replace the Byzantines' Romanity, but rather redefined it; it explained what kind of Romans the Byzantines were.[123] In addition, Byzantines identified with the Hellenes as ethnic ancestors only very incidentally and especially to bolster their claims to cultural supremacy. So did, for instance, Theodore II Lascaris (1254–1258), who can be regarded as the first Byzantine using Hellenism not to define a Roman elite against other Romans, but as the substance of collective pride.[124] In the following centuries, many Byzantine intellectuals continued this tendency to refer to themselves as Hellenes, even though they did not stop calling themselves Romans. Sometimes they represented themselves not only as the intellectual but also as the ethnic heirs to the ancient Hellenes. However, they did so without too much consistency and, as it seems, predominantly as a means of foregrounding cultural distinctiveness. They did not work out a theory of how they could be Romans and Greeks at the same time, nor did they explain exactly how they saw their collective

[122] Page (2008) 87. Byzantine authors used the label 'Γραικοί' as a less derogatory alternative to '"Ελληνες' until the ninth century, after which it fell into disuse due to its negative association with the rubric 'Graeci' that westerners employed to undermine the Roman claims of the Byzantines. See Page (2008) 66-67. Later, some used it to refer to the orthodox (see chapter 2, pp. 57-65).

[123] This evolution is most elaborately discussed in Kaldellis (2007a) 317-388.

[124] For analysis and discussion of Theodore Lascaris' case see Kaldellis (2007a) 372-379.

descent from the ancient Hellenes, and what this implied, for example in their relation to the West and the Latins in particular.

Exceptions to this are scarce. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Manuel Chrysoloras – the first Byzantine professor to hold a western chair of Greek from 1397 until 1400 and mainly renowned for producing the first Greek grammar in the West – rationalised his identification of the Byzantines collectively with both the ancient Greeks and the Romans.[125] He explained his views on exactly who the Byzantines were in a letter he wrote in about 1414 to emperor Manuel Palaeologus:

> Μεμνώμεθα οἵων ἀνδρῶν ἔκγονοι γεγόναμεν· Εἰ μὲν βούλοιτό τις, λέγοι <ἂν> τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἀρχαιοτέρων, λέγω δὴ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν τῆς δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σοφίας οὐδεὶς ἀνήκοος μεμένηκεν. Εἰ δὲ βούλει, τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκείνους γενομένων ἡμῖν προγόνων, τῶν παλαιῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀφ᾽ὧν νῦν ὀνομαζόμεθα καὶ οἵ δήπου ἀξιοῦμεν εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὀνομασίαν σχεδὸν ἀποβαλεῖν. Μᾶλλον δὲ ἄμφω τούτω τὼ γένει ἐφ᾽ἡμῖν δήπου συνελήλυθε καὶ εἴτε Ἕλληνας βούλοιτό τις λέγειν εἴτε Ῥωμαίους, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς σώζομεν διαδοχήν.[126]
>
> *Let us remember from what men we are descended. If someone would like, he could say that we descended from the first and age-old, I mean from the most venerable and ancient Hellenes (no one has remained ignorant of their power and wisdom). If you please, you could also say that we descended from those who came after them, the ancient Romans, after whom we are now named and who we, I suppose, claim to be, so that we even almost erased our ancient name [i.e. of the Hellenes]. Rather both of these races came together in our times, I think, and whether someone calls us Hellenes or Romans, that is what we are, and we safeguard the succession of Alexander and that of those after him.*[127]

Although Chrysoloras here used the word 'πρόγονοι' (forefathers, ancestors), he primarily defined the continuity between Byzantine present and the Romans as well as

[125] The classical study on Chrysoloras is Cammelli (1941). The most recent comprehensive studies on Chrysoloras are Thorn-Wickert (2006) and the contributions in Maisano & Rollo (2002), which appeared after they could be included in the very short introduction with a concise bibliography of Harris (2000e).

[126] Chrysoloras, ed. Patrinelis (2001) 117 ll. 4-13 (with adapted punctuation; <ἂν> is my conjecture).

[127] 'Those after him' ('τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον') may refer either to the Romans or to the Hellenistic monarchs. As Chrysoloras here makes the point that the Byzantines are both Hellenes and Romans, it seems most likely that he refers to the Romans, who eventually succeeded Alexander as leaders of a world empire.

the Greeks in political rather than ethnic terms (note the use of 'διαδοχή' here).[128] For him, Constantinople best exemplified the Greco-Roman synergy with which he as a Byzantine identified. 'The two most powerful and intelligent peoples', Chrysoloras explained in his more famous *Comparison between Old and New Rome*, '(the one ruling at the time, the other having ruled immediately before, both adorned with every art, ambition, and splendour: Romans and Greeks), constructed this city after joining forces, and used all other peoples and their own resources to serve it.'[129] His primary reference point was, however, Rome. During one of his many diplomatic missions to Italy, he felt so much at home in the city, that he started looking for his beloved house before realising that he was in Old and not in New Rome.[130]

The idea that the Byzantines were a mixture of Greeks and Romans echoes in the curious hybrid rubric 'Ρωμέλληνες' (Romellenes), used by Isidore of Kiev in a eulogy for Manuel and John VIII Palaeologus.[131] Isidore asserted that Constantine the Great had united the best Romans and the best Hellenes in Constantinople in order to produce the best *genos* on earth. This was the people of Romellenes whom we would now call Byzantines.[132] However, most Byzantines preferred to identify either with the Romans or with the Hellenes. Sometimes they also used 'Ρωμαῖοι' and 'Ἕλληνες' side by side without further comment. There might well be something in the idea that the Greco-

[128] On the dating of the letter see Patrinelis (1972) 499; Chrysoloras, ed. Patrinelis (2001) 41-44. The text was recognised as an original composition of Chrysoloras by Christos Patrinelis in 1972 in the Monastery of Metamorphosis at Meteora (codex 154) and published in a critical edition 2001. On the title and function of the text see Chrysoloras, ed. Patrinelis (2001) 38-39, 50. On the identification of the text as Chrysoloras' see Patrinelis (1972) 498-499 and for the text see Chrysoloras, ed. Patrinelis (2001) (with an introduction on 9-34 followed by an English translation on 35-57). See also Dagron (2001) 786 and Rollo (2002) 64 who were not able to consult the edition of Patrinelis (but cf. Maltezou 2006: 100).

[129] Chrysoloras, ed. Billò (2000) 17 ll. 20-24 (§38): 'Δύο γὰρ τὰ δυνατώτατα καὶ φρονιμώτατα ἔθνη, τὸ μὲν τότε ἄρχον, τὸ δὲ εὐθὺς ἄρξαν πρὸ ἐκείνου, καὶ πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ ἁβρότητι κομῶντα, Ῥωμαῖοι τὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες, συνελθόντα ταύτην πεποιήκασι καὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν'.

[130] See his letter to Johannes Chrysoloras (the father-in-law of Franciscus Philelfus) in Cortassa (2000) 102.

[131] Isidore, ed. Lambros (1926) 152 l. 17. The author of the eulogy was unknown Lambros, but was revealed by Mercati (1926) 6-7 whose thesis was adopted by Philippides (2007) 370 n. 75. The term 'Romellenes' prefigures the attempts of nineteenth-century Greek historians to come to terms with the Byzantine past of the Greek nation. See on his subject Argyropoulos (2001) esp. 30-32.

[132] Isidore, ed. Lambros (1926) 151-152 (esp. 152 ll. 8-12) .

Roman dualism which Chrysoloras and Isidore voice so self-consciously may explain the wavering of Demetrios Kydones and some of his contemporaries between the Roman and Hellenic labels. Instead of uncertainty and instability, this wavering would then reflect their firm but implicit conviction of the Byzantines' double Greco-Roman background.[133]

On the whole, however, it seems that identifications with the ancient Hellenes remained fluid and undifferentiated before the fifteenth century. Questions such as where the Hellenes had been during the previous two millennia or how a people could be Hellenes and Romans at the same time remained unanswered.[134] This changed, however, in the fifteenth century. In that period, we find a move from 'Hellenism' towards 'grécité', to recall a useful distinction made by Gilbert Dagron.[135] In this thesis, the distinction between Hellenism and Greekness is used to differentiate between self-referential allusions to the ancient Greeks (not uncommon in the Byzantine tradition) and a more (not fully) theorised ethno-cultural identification with them (less frequent and even rare as Anthony Kaldellis has shown). With ethno-cultural identification I mean the construction of continuity between past and present groups by claiming both common ethnic roots and the preservation of significant original features (via cultural transmission or biological transferral). The former anchors the sameness of both groups in the remote past; the latter underpins the perceived sameness over time.[136] The first to theorise the Byzantines' relation with the ancient Hellenes along these lines in some detail was the eccentric late-Byzantine philosopher George Gemistos Plethon. In sharp contrast to Manuel Chrysoloras and Isidor of Kiev, Plethon considered Hellenism to be a full alternative to the traditional Romanity of the Byzantines.

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[133] Patrinelis (1972) 501-502 (together with note 15). Cf. the observation of Petrinelis in Chrysoloras, ed. Petrinelis (2001) 51 n. 53.

[134] Cf. Kaldellis (2007a) 378-379 and Vryonis (1991) 9.

[135] Cf. Dagron (2001) 784-791. It must be noted that this distinction is void of the evaluative overtones of George Seferis' famous distinction between "Ελληνικότητα' (usually translated as Greekness) and "Ελληνισμός' (Hellenism), which are in turn distinct from "Ρωμιοσύνη' ('Romiosyni'). These words represent different aspects of the psycho-cultural experience of being Greek. See on Seferis' complex distinction Brewer (2012) 273-274.

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The Hellenic alternative to Rome in the works of Gemistos Plethon

With the first attempts to formulate a real Hellenic alternative to the Roman-Christian complex of Byzantine self-identification in the second half of the fifteenth century, Hellenism for the first time really challenged the Roman self-representation of the Byzantines. The link between the Byzantines and the ancient Hellenes became more (but not fully) theorised in the works of George Gemistos Plethon. Plethon is important here because he anticipated many features of the Hellenism of the post-Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy. At his school in Mistra he educated some prominent members of the last generation of Byzantine scholars who would settle in Italy, not only the famous Bessarion, but also lesser known members of the cardinal's Roman court such as Demetrios Rhaoul Kavakis. In Mistra, Gemistos Plethon transformed the Hellenes from the object of watchful study into ancestors whose precepts must be revived in order to carry out a programme of social and political reform.

In what is left of Plethon's works three features stand out as particularly important since they sharply contrast with dominant Byzantine views on the Hellenes. As such, they foreshadow some important features of what we shall find in the Italian diaspora. First of all, Plethon's use of ancient Greek culture went far beyond a stylistic or literary ideal. For him, ancient Greek literature and philosophy are more than 'learning from outside' to be studied through the lens of Christian doctrines. From a traditional Byzantine point of view, his Hellenism was radical. Plethon took ancient Greek philosophy together with the history of the ancient Greeks as the primary source for his socio-political views that form an alternative to the Roman-imperial and, it seems, even the Christian order of the eastern Roman empire. His political ideal is the organisation of the ancient city state Sparta, philosophically underpinned by Plato.[137]

[137] Garnsey (2009) 332-333. Plethon's political thought mainly survives in two memoranda addressed to Theodore and Manuel Palaeologus on which see Signes Codoñer (1998) 48-54. An edition of the treatises with a German translation and notes can be found in Plethon, ed. Elissen (1860). The most recent modern Greek translation is available in Baloglou (2002) 129-254 (with introductions on 23-127 and extensive bibliographies). Passages are translated into English in Barker (1957): 198-219 (with introduction on 196-198) and into Spanish in Signes Codoñer (1998) 82-90. On the various political aspects of Plethon's writings see now Capodiferro (2010) 55-83. On Plethon's political thought see especially Nikolaou (1974) 4-102 together with Blum (1987) and Peritore (1977). On the role of monasticism in Plethon's political treatises see Konstantelos (2003). On the role of Sparta in Plethon's political thought see Baloglou (2003) 319-326. The only recent monograph-length study of Plethon with particular attention to his radical Platonism is Siniossoglou (2011). For a very short introduction to his life with a concise bibliography see Harris (2000h).

In his *Book of Laws*, which he composed at the end of his life, Plethon designed a whole new and utopian order based, as he himself explained, on a theology inspired by a combination of Hellenic pantheism, Zoroaster and Plato, a Platonic and Stoic ethics, and a less rigorous form of Spartan political organisation.[138] He designed prayers in honour of the gods of the ancient Greek pantheon and gave very precise instructions on the celebration of the liturgy he described.[139] Plethon's political thought typically resisted traditional pillars of Byzantine society and parameters of identification. He not only designed a new pantheon, but also explicitly criticised the clergy.[140] Plethon's radical Hellenism and his critique of the position of the Church led Gennadios Scholarios – the first patriarch under Ottoman rule – to burn the *Book of Laws*, so that it is transmitted to us only fragmentarily. Scholarios was in many ways Plethon's antipode and represented a more traditional strand of Byzantine thought. Although he admitted that he was a Hellene by virtue of his language ('τῇ φωνῇ'), he rejected the Hellenic rubric because he did not think as the Hellenes had done and wanted to be called a Christian ('χριστιανός') after his true belief.[141] In more conservative circles, Plethon's Hellenism was thus interpreted as an act of intolerable resistance.

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[138] Woodhouse (1986) 322. English summaries of the parts of the text that survive are available in Woodhouse (1986) 325-356. Judging on the surviving Preface, the work treated theology, ethics, poetics, ceremonies, natural science, logic, Hellenic antiquities, and matters of health. A German translation of part of the text is in Blum (2005) 7-23; a modern Greek translation is Plethon, trans. Chatzimichail (2005) (with an introduction to his life and works on 15-53); a Spanish translation is in Plethon, trans. Lisi & Signes (1995) (with an introduction on XI-LXXV); a French translation by A. Pellissier is in Plethon, ed. Alexandre (1966) (with an introduction on I-C). An overview of editions and translations of Plethon's work up to 2005 can be found in the very useful contribution of Blum (2005) 49-50. Note that Blum does not mention the Spanish translation of the *Laws* by Lisi & Signes Codoñer (1995).

[139] Woodhouse (1986) 345; 351-353. For a good summary of the debate over Plethon's paganism and a nuanced position-taking see Hankins (1990) 197-205.

[140] Woodhouse (1986) 331. It must be noted that Plethon also retained orthodox views and Platonic elements that were in accord with orthodoxy. See on this complex and still underexposed matter esp. Signes Codoñer (1998) 27-38 and Woodhouse (1986) 361-362.

[141] Scholarios, ed. Jugie, Petit & Siderides (1930) 253 ll. 4-6: 'Καὶ αὖθις, Ἕλλην ὢν τῇ φωνῇ, οὐκ ἄν ποτε φαίην Ἕλλην εἶναι, διὰ τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν ὡς ἐφρόνουν ποτὲ Ἕλληνες· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας μάλιστα θέλω ὀνομάζεσθαι δόξης. Καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιτό με τίς εἰμί, ἀποκρινοῦμαι χριστιανὸς εἶναι' *[Although I am a Hellene by virtue of my language, I would always deny that I am a Hellene because of the fact that I do not think like the Hellenes. I want to be named after my own belief. And if someone would ask me who I am, I will answer that I am a Christian.]*. See on Scholarios' views on Hellenism, Romanity and Greekness Livanos (2006, 2003), Angelou (1996), and Vryonis (1991) 9-13.

Some decades before Plethon composed his magnum opus, he had already articulated his views on the role of Hellenism in the political affairs of the empire. About the time Chrysoloras reconciled the Greek and Roman traditions in his view on the Byzantines, Plethon addressed two memoranda regarding the state of affairs in the Peloponnesus both to the emperor and to the despot of the Morea.[142] These two memoranda exemplify a second feature of Plethon's Hellenism that marks the transition from radical Hellenism towards Greekness, i.e. from the study of Greek literature to identifying with the ancient Greeks. In the tracts, he advanced an argument in support of the Peloponnesus that was, importantly, not only based on practical and strategic reasoning, but also on notions of historical ties and ethnic belonging. When Plethon wrote his memoranda in the 1410s, the peninsula of the Morea was a semi-independent province of the Byzantine empire, ruled by a relative of the emperor, usually his brother.[143] His plans for the socio-economic rearrangement of the province in fact amount to the establishment of an economically and militarily self-sustaining polity that is territorially circumscribed and ethnically homogeneous, and in several respects comes close to our idea of the nation-state with a decidedly communal organisation.[144]

The memoranda show that Plethon's political project was as much a structural socio-economical enterprise as it was an instance of shrewd identity politics.[145] In the treatises, he identified the Hellenes as a coherent group in the present, connected through language and tradition, and with a historical territory of its own. 'We are Hellenes by race whom you lead and rule', he emphatically claimed in his letter to emperor Manuel II, 'as both our language and ancestral learning evidence'. Plethon also claimed territorial and ethnic continuity for the Hellenes. He continued by saying that there was no country that was more appropriate to the Hellenes than the Peloponnesus together with 'the areas of Europe bordering upon it as well as the islands off its coast'.[146] In this

[142] See on the disputed dates of the treatises Woodhouse (1986) 92. The address to emperor Manuel is normally dated not later than 1418; the address to despot Theodore is most probably earlier.

[143] Classic studies on the cultural and political history of the Byzantine Morea are Runciman (1980 = 2009), Löhnheysen (1977) and Zakythinos (1975). See also the controversial study of Fallmerayer (1830) together with the discussions in Wenturis (2000), Auernheimer (1998), Leeb (1996), Thurnher (1995, 1993), Veloudis (1970).

[144] Dagron (2001) 789.

[145] Cf. Hersant (1999) 128-130.

[146] Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 247 l. 14 – 248 l. 3: Ἔσμὲν γὰρ οὖν ὧν ἡγεῖσθέ τε καὶ βασιλεύετε Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, ὡς ἥ τε φωνὴ καὶ ἡ πάτριος παιδεία μαρτυρεῖ· Ἕλλησι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἥτις ἄλλη οἰκειοτέρα χώρα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον προσήκουσα ἢ Πελοπόννησός τε καὶ ὅση δὴ ταύτῃ τῆς

corner of Europe, according to Plethon, the Hellenes had always lived without foreign intermingling from times immemorial to his day.[147] In this way, he not only claimed a common ethnic root for the Hellenes, but even suggested ethnic stability over centuries.[148] Moreover, he claimed that the Peloponnesus had produced the stocks of the Hellenes ('τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένη'), and that it was from there that they had undertaken their most famous deeds.[149] This shows that for Plethon, the Hellenes were not only a cultural, but also an ethnic group that extended from a specific home territory to which they were naturally attached.

Plethon's famous phrase 'we are Hellenes whom you rule' has often been taken to mean that in his view Manuel II did not rule over Romans at all.[150] In the immediate context of the phrase, however, Plethon himself emphasised that he spoke about the

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Εὐρώπης προσεχὴς τῶν τε αὖ νήσων αἱ ἐπικείμεναι'. For an English paraphrase of the letter see Woodhouse (1986) 102-106 with discussion on 106-118.

[147] Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 248 ll. 3-10: 'Ταύτην γὰρ δὴ φαίνονται τὴν χώραν Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ οἰκοῦντες οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὅτου περ ἄνθρωποι διαμνημονεύουσιν οὐδένων ἄλλων προενῳκηκότων οὐδὲ ἐπήλυδες κατασχόντες, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας μὲν ὡρμημένοι, ἑτέραν δὲ οἰκοῦσι κατασχόντες ἄλλους τε ἐκβαλόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστιν ὅτε πεπονθότες, ἀλλ' Ἕλληνες τήνδε τὴν χώραν τοὐναντίον αὐτοί τε ἀεὶ φαίνονται κατέχοντες καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι, περιουσίᾳ οἰκητόρων ἑτέρας τε οὐκ ὀλίγας κατασχόντες, οὔτε ταύτην ἐκλιπόντες' *[It is manifest that the Hellenes have always inhabited this area from times immemorial (no other people had inhabited the area before them) and that foreigners did not occupy it, as many others (after having been expelled from one area) occupy and inhabit another region after throwing out others and sometimes experiencing the same themselves by the hand of others. But it is manifest that the Greeks, on the other hand, have always inhabited this area and sailed out from there due to the great number of colonists, dwelling in not a few places, without however leaving this region.]*

[148] Although Plethon never mentions autochthony literally, he in fact comes close to transferring the ancient claim of autochthony from the ancient Athenians to the Peloponnesians. On the ancient Athenian concept see Rosivach (1987).

[149] Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 248 ll. 10-13: 'Συμπάσης δὲ ταύτης τῆς χώρας αὐτὴ Πελοπόννησος ὁμολογεῖται τὰ πρῶτά τε καὶ γνωριμώτατα ἐνεγκοῦσα τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τὰ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἐνδοξότατα Ἕλληνες ἔργα ἀπεδείξαντο…' *[It is commonly agreed that of this entire territory the Peloponnesus brought forth the most prominent and most distinguished races of the Hellenes, and setting out from this region the Hellenes showed their greatest and most famous deeds…].* The idea that the Peloponnesus was the heartland of the Hellenes was also expressed by Plethon's contemporary Manuel Kalekas. In a letter to Manuel Chrysoloras, he explicitly called the Peloponnesus the 'ancient fatherland of the Hellenes'. See Kalekas, ed. Loenertz (1950) 307 (nr. 89 ll. 23-24: 'τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πατρίδα'). But compare the views of Constantine Lascaris in chapter 5, pp. 194-198.

[150] Rapp (2008) 142-143; Page (2007) 244-255; Harris (2006) 93; Vryonis (1996) 35 and (1991) 8, 13.

Peloponnesus ('ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας') and its inhabitants, but not about the empire in its entirety.[151] In other contexts, therefore, we find Plethon referring to the Byzantines as Romans ("Ρωμαῖοι') instead of Hellenes.[152] His real innovation is not in this phrase, but in the way he attempts to direct the emperor's attention towards the Peloponnesus, namely via an ethnological detour to prove that the eastern Romans were really Hellenes. This is the third important feature of his use of the ancient Greek past in addition to his usage of ancient Greek culture as a source for sociopolitical reform (radical Hellenism) and his claims to the ethnic and cultural continuity of the Hellenes with the ancient past (Greekness).

Shifting attention away from practical considerations towards loyalties of belonging, Plethon articulated a theory to account for the Hellenism of the Byzantines in his treatise to emperor Manuel II. Apart from claiming that Constantinople originally was a Dorian colony, he also maintained that the Romans who had settled in Byzantion under emperor Constantine were at least partly Greek. In order to substantiate this claim, he argued that Rome's population consisted of Sabines, who were Spartans just as the Dorians.[153] In this way, the philosopher stressed the close historical and ethnic

[151] He opens the paragraph by saying that 'first of all I will state briefly about this area that it must be much valued by you, not because I see that you have not been seriously concerned about giving proper attention to it, but for the sake of the argument so that it will advance through the necessary stages' (Plethon, ed. Lambros 1926a: 247 ll. 10-13: 'πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας, ὡς περὶ πλείστου ποιητέα ὑμῖν ἐστι, βραχέ' ἄττα μοι εἰρήσεται, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς περὶ τὴν ταύτης ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσπουδακότας ὁρῶ, αλλ'αὐτοῦ γέ τοι τοῦ λόγου ἕνεκα ὡς διὰ τῶν δεόντων δὴ χωροίη'). Cf. Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 249 ll. 5-7. In the same vein, Beck (1961) argued that Plethon's Hellenism was not an attack on the Roman polity ruled from Constantinople, but an attempt to direct the emperor's attention towards the Peloponnesus (see esp. 90-92).

[152] In his *Monodia in Helenam Palaeologinam*, for example, he referred to the fact that the emperor reigned over the race of the Romans. See Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926b) 271: 'ἡ τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων αὕτη μήτηρ τῷ τούτων πατρὶ ἐγήματο (…) οὐκ ὀλίγων τοιούτων βασιλέων ἀπογόνῳ βασιλεύοντί τε τοῦ ἡμετέρου τούτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων γένους…' *[the mother of our kings and despots married their father (…) the offspring of not a few of such kings who reigned our race of the Romans]*.

[153] In his commentary to Plethon's letters, Elissen mentions Dionysius of Halicarnassus as Plethon's source for the idea that the Sabines were originally Spartans (see Plethon, ed. & trans. Elissen 1860: 135 n. 5; cf. Barker 1957: 199 n. 3). Dionysius indeed mentioned the theory that a colony of Lacedaemonians settled among the Sabines at the time of Lycurgus, but he did on the other hand not mention racial intermingling; he rather used the story as an explanation for the Spartan manners of the Sabines, esp. their fondness of war, frugality, and severity (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49). The Sabines were widely believed to share Spartan customs due to Spartan colonists (cf. Plut. *Romulus* 16.1, *Numa* 1.3; Sil. 2.8, 8.412; Iust. 20.1.13; Zon. 7.3).

relationship or 'οἰκειότης' ('intimacy', in his own words) of the Byzantine Romans and the ancient Greeks.[154] In this key-passage he rationalised the Byzantines' relationship with the Hellenes in a decidedly ethnic sense:

> 'Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς μεγάλης ταυτησὶ πόλεως τῆς πρὸς Βοσπόρῳ, ἥπερ νῦν ὑμῖν βασίλειόν ἐστι, τήνδε τὴν χώραν εἴη ἂν λογιζομένοις οἷον μητέρα τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀφορμήν τινα ἰδεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπειδὴ Βυζάντιον οἱ προενῳκηκότες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Δωριεῖς, Δωριεῖς δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι περιφανῶς, τοῦτο δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὴν λαμπρὰν ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ῥώμης ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι καὶ Βυζάντιον οὕτω καλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ ἐπηυξηκότες τῇ προσθήκῃ, Πελοποννησίων οὐκ ἀλλότριοι, εἴ γε Αἰνιᾶσι μὲν Σαβῖνοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις συνῳκισμένοι Ῥώμην εὐτυχεστάτην πόλεων κατῴκισαν, Σαβῖνοι δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι'.[155]
>
> *For those who give it a thought, it may well be possible to understand that this land [the Peloponnesus] is the mother and the origin of that big city at the Bosporus which is now the seat of your empire; first, because of the fact that the original inhabitants of Byzantion were Hellenes and Dorians (and the Dorians are obviously Peloponnesians); and secondly, because of the fact that those who thereafter set sail from Rome in Italy to this illustrious settlement, and thus made a splendid and great addition to Byzantion, were in no way foreigners to the Peloponnesians, since the Sabines were joined as settlers, on terms of equality and parity, with the Aenianes,*[156] *when they founded Rome, the happiest of cities, and the Sabines came from the Peloponnesus and were Lacedaemonians.*

The Hellenes could boast to have established two Romes, while the so-called Romans could pride themselves on a distinguished Hellenic pedigree.[157] Plethon highlighted the relevance of ancient Greece, and particularly the Peloponnesus, not only for the pre-Roman history of the imperial capital as a Greek colony (Byzantion), but also for the later Roman strata of its past. While for Chrysoloras Rome remained the main point of

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[154] Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 249 l. 19.

[155] Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 248 l. 13 – 249 l. 5.

[156] Lambros' text reads 'Αἰνιᾶσι' (see above), while Elissen gives 'Αἰνειᾶσι' (Plethon, ed. Elissen 1860: 43 ll. 9-10). Both Barker (1957) 199 (following Lambros' text) and Elissen (1860) 89 understood the 'Aenianes' as referring to the descendants of Aeneas. The *Suda Lexicon* records 'Αἰνιεῖς' and 'Αἰνειᾶνες' as two different words to refer to the same small tribe from upper Greece. However, it also warns that the 'Αἰνιεῖς' and 'Αἰνειᾶνες' must not be confounded with the 'Ἀινειάδεις', or the descendants of Aeneas (see *Suda s.v.* 'Αἰνειάδης'; cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αἰνία'). As there seems to be no connection between Rome, the Sabines and the Aenianes of upper Greece, we might perhaps emend 'Αἰνειάδαις' in order to justify Barker's and Elissen's sensible interpretations. The emendation would be consistent with what Plethon himself says elsewhere (see Plethon, ed. Lambros 1930: 115, ll. 23–116, l. 1, where it is claimed that the Trojans settled in Italy under Aeneas and later founded Rome together with the Sabines of Lacedaemonian origin).

[157] Cf. Beck (1960) 91.

reference, for Plethon the Peloponnesus was the centre of revival. Unlike the thirteenth-century 'Hellenic Romans', Plethon nor Chrysoloras wrote in response to rivalling claims of the Latin West to the Roman legacy of Byzantium. Their Hellenism was not anti-Latin in this way. Chrysoloras' emphasis on the shared Greco-Roman tradition of Old and New Rome rather bridged the gap with the Latins.

Plethon, on the other hand, was not really interested in claiming a Roman heritage for the Byzantines nor in uncovering cultural common ground with the Latin West via a long forgotten Greco-Roman past. He primarily turned to Greek antiquity for the reinvigoration of Byzantium.[158] Therefore, he thoroughly reviewed the Romanity of the "Ρωμαῖοι', making them Hellenes via an ethnographical detour. While he did not consistently reject the Roman label for the Byzantines, he did dissociate himself from the Roman past of Byzantium.[159] Plethon's innovation was his ethnographical background theory in his memorandum, not the fact that he styled the Peloponnesians 'Hellenes'. More than eighty years later, Janus Lascaris (the most distinguished protégé of Plethon's student Bessarion) would apply a similar strategy in a different context and with different emphases, when he addressed his 'Roman' audience in Florence (see chapter 5). This shows that by the time Lascaris wrote, the dissociation from the Romans was complete.

Greekness without a theory

Plethon was exceptional because he was the first to provide an explicit ethnic underpinning for his identification of the Byzantine Romans with the Hellenes. Most Byzantines who identified the Byzantines exclusively as Greeks were not so explicit. This is for instance the case in some speeches by Johannes Argyropulus, who would later come to Florence to teach Greek on the chair of Chrysoloras after the fall of Constantinople. In the very last years of the Byzantine empire, Argyropulus addressed

[158] Cf. Siniossoglou (2011) 347-359.

[159] See, e.g., Plethon, ed. Lambros (1930) 129, ll. 13-17: 'ὁρῶμεν γὰρ οἳ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κεχώρηκε τὰ πράγματα, οἷς ἁπάντων οἰχομένων δύο πόλεε μόνον ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης περιλέλειπται καὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐδὲ ξύμπασα αὕτη γε, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἔτι νησίδιον σῶν ἐστι…' *[We see how the most mighty empire of the Romans turned out for us for whom only two small cities in Thrace [Selymbria and Mesembria] are left while all other cities have perished, and the Peloponnesus also remains (and not even that in its entirety) and whatever little island is still safe…].*

the emperor in a series of speeches as the philosopher-king of the Hellenes.[160] In about 1448, he called emperor John VIII the 'Sun King of Hellas' ('ὦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἥλιε βασιλεῦ') and a 'common delight for the Hellenes' ('κοινὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀφθαλμόν').[161] In his monody for the deceased emperor, he further lamented that after the king's death 'not one single city or one people, but all cities of the Greeks and all our races have suddenly entered into nothing but danger'.[162] Argyropulus emphasised with admiration what the king had done for the Hellenes to promote their liberty,[163] and he saw it as the king's duty to safeguard 'the lands, the cities, the language of the Hellenes, and the entire tradition and law of our forefathers'.[164] When a year later the despot of the Morea returned to Constantinople to claim the imperial crown after his brother's death, Argyropulus again addressed the gathered Byzantines in the centre of imperial Romanity as Hellenes.[165] Both in his speeches to Constantine XI and in his monody for

[160] Cf. Cammelli (1941b) 29-30 who uses the texts as historical evidence for a problem of dating, but does not go into detail about their contents. For a short introduction to the life and works of Argyropulus with a concise bibliography see Harris (2000c).

[161] Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910) 7 ll. 4-8.

[162] Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910) 3 ll. 7-12: 'Σοῦ δέ, μέγιστε βασιλέων, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἰχομένου καὶ μηκέτ' ὄντος, οὐ μία πόλις οὐδ' ἔθνος ἕν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήνων ἅπασαι πόλεις καὶ γένη πάντα τὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπ' οὐδενὸς αὐτίκα μάλα βεβήκασιν ἀσφαλοῦς, σείεταί τε πάντα πόλεων τείχη καὶ πεσεῖν ἤδη δοκεῖ καὶ δουλεύειν βαρβάροις' *[Now that you, greatest of kings, have departed from mankind and do not live anymore, not one single city or one people, but all cities of the Greeks and all of our races have suddenly entered into nothing but danger, and all city walls seem already to shake and fall, and seem enslaved by the barbarians].*

[163] See, e.g., Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910) 4 ll. 2-3: 'Λέγω δὲ ὅσα περ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος ἅπαν Ἑλλήνων εὖ αἰεὶ διετέλει ποιῶν ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεύς…' *[I mean all those things the greatest king constantly did for the benefit of ourselves and for the entire race of the Hellenes…]*; Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910) 5 ll. 3-9: 'Χωρὶς δὲ ἐκείνων, ὅσας ὑπηρεσίας τὰς μὲν διὰ γῆς, τὰς δὲ διὰ θαλάττης ὑπέστη, πονῶν μὲν αἰεί, μηδενὸς δὲ ἀφιστάμενος τῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν τείνει…' *[Apart from these things, how many services both on land and on sea did he set up, always working hard, and shrinking from none of the tasks pertaining to the freedom of the Hellenes…].*

[164] See, e.g., Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910) 6 ll. 16-20: 'Οὐκοῦν φιλοσοφεῖν ὁ πάντα ἄριστος ἐκεῖνος ἔκρινε δεῖν καὶ δυοῖν ἐκείνοιν, φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἣν ἐωρῶμεν ἀρχὴν σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ ξυνέθηκε μουσικῇ, δι' ἧς ἐσώζετο μὲν ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ γένους ἑστία, ἐσώζοντο δὲ καὶ ὅσαι νῦν ὑφ' αὑτὴν καὶ χῶραι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴ καὶ ἅπαν ἔθος καὶ νόμος πάτριος' *[The best king in all things decided that he should be a philosopher and through those two things, philosophy and kingship, he held together the empire that we see with musical harmony, through which the common hearth of our people was saved and all the things now under its sway: the lands, the cities, the language of the Hellenes, and the entire tradition and law of our forefathers].*

[165] See Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910) 10 ll. 6-11. Also in his *Basilica*, Argyropulus addressed his audience in this manner. See *id.*, ed. Lambros (1910) 37 ll. 13-14: 'Ὁρᾶτε δὲ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες

the emperor's brother, he consistently referred to the subjects of the emperor as 'Hellenes' instead of Romans, but without providing us with a background theory.[166] Such consistent usage of the Hellenic rubric *without* an explicit reflection as we find it in Plethon obviously prompts the question how far we can go with providing the absent background theory ourselves on the basis of inductive reasoning. For our present purpose, however, it suffices to note the unmotivated idiosyncratic usage and to signal such gaps in the sources.

Without explicit reflection on their self-representation as Hellenes it is difficult to determine *why* this sudden redefinition occurred at all. It has, for example, been argued that the use of the Hellenic rubric can be explained from the fact that Roman ecumenism did no longer live up to socio-economic and political realities of the fifteenth century.[167] From this perspective, the Byzantines exchanged their imperial Romanity for national Hellenism because the latter matched the smaller and almost homogenously Greek state in which they found themselves. This is a powerful historical argument, yet it is not entirely without its problems. To name the most important one, it starts from the idea that the Romans of the East were a transcendent religious-imperial community. All the same, the idea that the Byzantine Romans in their own view represented such a ecumenical community has recently been challenged and is therefore in need of thorough revision.[168] If it is true that the Byzantine Romans saw their own community more in terms of a modern nation state than in terms of a universal empire, we must reconsider the idea that their Romanity was by definition out of line with historical 'national' realities. On the other hand, it has been shown that the Hellenic rubric was used especially if not exclusively by Byzantine converts to Roman Catholicism, who had to accept among other things that the true Romans were in Italy and not in

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῞Ελληνες, οὐκ ἄνευ ἀγαθῆς ἡμετέρας τύχης ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου τοῦδε καθήμενον' *[You behold him, Hellenes, sitting, not without good fortune for us, on the imperial throne.]*

[166] See Argyropulus, ed. Lambros (1910). It seems that in Florence Argyropulus impacted upon the way Cosimo de'Medici was eulogised. In the wake of his lectures on Aristotle, there emerged a new philosophic tradition which praised Cosimo in terms of learning and wisdom (besides the old tradition of republicanism). See on this aspect of Argyropulus' impact Brown (1961) esp. 195-198. Although not mentioned by Brown, the speeches Argyropulus delivered in Constantinople before his move to Italy in many ways prefigure this new kind of eulogistic rhetoric he applied to Cosimo. I prepare a separate contribution on this. The standard work on Argyropulus are still Lambros (1910a) for his texts and Cammelli (1941b) for his biography (but see also Geanakoplos 1984b, Garin 1950 and Zippel 1896).

[167] Runciman (1970) 17-23.

[168] Kaldellis (2012a).

Constantinople. This suggests another explanation for the sudden emphasis on Hellenism in Byzantine circles.

With the Roman rubric deferred to the Romans of the West – as we find it in Laonikos Chalkokondyles – the Byzantine converts could refer to themselves either as Hellenes or as Greeks. Since 'Ἕλληνες' had the cultural prestige which the western rubric 'Γραικοί' obviously lacked, some Catholic or pro-western Byzantines would then have dropped the Roman rubric and embraced the Hellenic label instead.[169] More research far beyond our present scope needs to be done to settle the issue, but it is good to realise that very probably the usage of the Hellenic rubric was variously motivated. So, for instance, Plethon's notion of Greekness was not necessarily a means to distinguish the eastern Romans from the Latin Romans (as it had been in the thirteenth century), while it had even less to do with the adoption of Catholic or western points of view (as in the case of the Byzantine converts). This once again shows that generalisations are very problematic and prompts us to carefully review individual sources.

Nevertheless, we can safely say that the transformation of Byzantine self-identification, moving away from political and religious towards ethnic and cultural parameters, enabled Byzantines to imagine a community of Hellenes that transcended dynastic, political and religious borders. This is particularly important when such borders were in flux or even broke down, as they eventually did after 1453. As we shall see in chapter 3, the works of cardinal Bessarion illustrate this. In his *Encomium to Trebizond*, he traced the ethnic roots of the Trapezuntines back to the Athenians, and stressed that they had preserved some distinctive aspects of ancient Athenian culture. But they were not unique in this. In another treatise, Bessarion emphasised that the Peloponnesians equally partook of Hellenic roots and preserved typical Hellenic features. For Bessarion, the Hellenes were not confined to Trebizond, the Peloponnesus or any other place, but were a community that existed independently of dynastic or regional boundaries. In this sense, Bessarion anticipated the views on Greekness of one of Plethon's other pupils, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, who studied with him in Mistra. Writing after the fall of Constantinople for a Greek audience, this Athenian historian transformed his teacher's reform plan into a cogent history for the Byzantines – and so produced the first history in which the Byzantines are collectively positioned in Greek rather than Roman history.

[169] Kaldellis (forthcoming b).

The Hellenes re-enter history: Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Histories

In the history of Laonikos Chalkokondyles we find the Byzantines enter the stage of world history as Hellenes for the first time.[170] Chalkokondyles was the first non-western, Byzantine author who not only transformed the Romans of the East into Hellenes, but equally cast them in a coherent narrative of Hellenic instead of Roman history. He also explained *why* the Romans of the East were *really* Hellenes. In so doing, he introduced into Greek historiography Plethon's alternative to the traditional Romanity voiced by most contemporary historiographers, and to Greco-Roman compromises such as the one proposed by Chrysoloras. Much in the manner of Herodotus, Chalkokondyles paid a good deal of attention to other peoples beyond the immediate neighbours of the Byzantine empire.[171] Among these peoples, he used the label 'Romans' ('Ρωμαῖοι') normally to refer to the flock of the pope and the subjects of the Holy Roman emperor.[172] For him, the Hellenes ('Ἕλληνες') were clearly distinct from them.

Chalkokondyles is the only Byzantine historiographer who is consistent in calling the Romans of the East 'Hellenes'. The other three late-Byzantine historians adhere to traditional labels or are less consistent in their usage.[173] While Chalkokondyles was silent about the defining features of the Hellenes, it seems that lineage, language and shared culture were the basic ingredients. When he discussed the empire of Trebizond, for example, he claimed that the Trapezuntines were 'Hellenes by race, and their customs and language are equally Hellenic'.[174] Moreover, his conception of the Hellenic

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[170] Chalkokondyles' work in fact constitutes a history of the rise of the Ottoman Turks, culminating with the fall of Constantinople and its aftermath. On Chalkokondyles and his generally understudied historiographical work see now esp. Kaldellis (forthcoming a, forthcoming b, 2012b, 2012c), Harris (2003a, 2003b), Deisser (1986) 109-112, Vryonis (1976), Wifstrand (1972), Darkó (1927, 1924), Miller (1922).

[171] This marks him off from other Byzantine historians. Even if they imitated Herodotus in points of idiom and style, they did generally not share his curiosity in other peoples. Cf. Wifstrand (1972) 7.

[172] In addition, Kaldellis (forthcoming b) shows that in Chalkokondyles' ethnographical discourse the category of the Romans represents a 'disembodied notional Roman construct' that is used as a benchmark for the western peoples he describes.

[173] For a succinct overview see Vryonis (1991) or, with more substantial references, Ditten (1964), neglected by Vryonis. In his *Chronicon*, for example, George Sphrantzes only uses 'Ρωμαϊκόν' to refer to Byzantine matters. The other two late-Byzantine historians Doukas and Kritovoulos are inconsistent in their denominations of the eastern Romans, but they mostly refer to them conventionally as Romans.

[174] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1923) 219 ll. 4-5: '… Ἕλληνάς τε ὄντας τὸ γένος, καὶ τὰ ἤθη τε ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν προϊεμένους Ἑλληνικήν'. Cf. Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 248 ll. 17-23.

community principally transcended political borders. After his account of the fall of Trebizond in 1461, he concluded that 'in a small amount of time all the Greeks and the rulers of the Greeks had been overturned by this sultan [Mehmet II], starting with the city of Byzantion, after that the Peloponnesus, and finally the king and land of Trebizond'.[175] In this way, he subsumed the peoples and rulers of Constantinople, the Morea, and Trebizond under the collective Hellenic rubric probably on the basis of shared lineage, customs, and language. His ideal was to see all Hellenes united under one Hellenic king, and he had good hopes. So, he explained his choice to write in Greek because he believed that it would regain its position as a world language 'as soon as a king who is Greek himself, along with the kings that follow upon him, constitutes a not inconsiderable kingdom and gathers into it the children of the Greeks. They will govern themselves according to their own customs, in a manner most pleasing to themselves and from a position of strength with regard to other peoples'.[176]

The most important historiographical innovation of the Athenian historian was the fact that he dissociated Byzantium from Roman history and integrated it into the Hellenic past, a strategy also used by his teacher Plethon. Already at the beginning of his work, he observed that 'many others have, at various times, made records and written the history of each of the deeds of the Hellenes as they happened', thus framing what he

[175] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1923) 248 ll. 17-23: 'Τραπεζοῦς μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑάλω, καὶ ἡ τῆς Κόλχων χώρα σύμπασα ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, ἡγεμονία καὶ αὕτη Ἑλλήνων οὖσα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἤθη τε καὶ δίαιταν τετραμμένη Ἑλλήνων, ὥστε ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνας, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Βυζαντίου πόλιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πελοπόννησόν τε καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος βασιλέα καὶ χώραν αὐτήν' *[That was how Trebizond fell and how the entire land of Kolchis came under the king's authority. This too had been a principality of the Greeks and its customs and lifestyle were also Greek, so that in a small amount of time all the Greeks and the rulers of the Greeks had been overturned by this king [Mehmet II], starting with the city of Byzantion, after that the Peloponnesus, and finally the king and land of Trebizond].*

[176] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 2 ll. 12-19: 'μὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνό γε πάνυ ἐκφαύλως ἔχον ἡμῖν, ὡς Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα διέξιμεν, ἐπεὶ ἥ γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴ πολλαχῇ ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην διέσπαρται καὶ συχναῖς ἐγκαταμέμικται. καὶ κλέος μὲν αὐτῇ μέγα τὸ παραυτίκα, μεῖζον δὲ καὶ ἐς αὖθις, ὁπότε δὴ ἀνὰ βασιλείαν οὐ φαύλην Ἕλλην τε αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσόμενοι βασιλεῖς, οἵ δὴ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παῖδες ξυλλεγόμενοι κατὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔθιμα ὡς ἥδιστα μὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ὡς κράτιστα πολιτεύοιντο' *[Let no one deride us because we relate these things in Greek, for the language of the Hellenes has spread to many places throughout the world and has mixed with many other languages. It is very prestigious already and will be even more so in the near future, when a king who is himself a Hellene, along with the kings that will succeed him, constitute a not inconsiderable kingdom and gather into it the children of the Hellenes. They will govern themselves according to their own customs, in a manner most pleasing to themselves and from a position of strength with regard to others]*. The translation is after Kaldellis (forthcoming).

has to say about the decline of the Byzantine empire as part of Greek history and Greek historiography. The first pages of his work particularly read as a summary of his view on the Greek past of the eastern Roman empire.[177] In this summary, 'Byzantine history' predated the founding of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, which had been a traditional starting point for Byzantine historiography. With considerable leaps in time Chalkokondyles evoked the Greek colonisation of Asia and Africa, the expansion of the Greeks towards India and the Caucasus, the affairs of the Spartans and the Athenians, the king of the Macedonians and his successors.[178] After briefly mentioning the achievements of Alexander the Great, the Athenian historian turned to the rising power of the Romans, skipping the history of the Hellenistic age. 'At that point', he recounted, 'the Romans attained the greatest empire in the world, having their fortune in proportion to their virtue. They entrusted Rome to the highest of their priests and crossed over into Thrace under the command of their emperor'.[179] In his account of how the Greek city of Byzantion became a Roman capital, Chalkokondyles again made a significant leap in time from Alexander the Great and his successors (roughly the period between 336 and 30 BC) to the time of pope Sylvester (who was pope in the period between 314 and 335) and Constantine the Great (who reigned from 306 until 337). This summary of Greek history is an effective way of mnemonic pasting; it suggests contiguity with the ancient Greek past by sequencing events to form a continuous flow of history from the past into the present.

In his history, Chalkokondyles removed Constantinople from Roman history and placed it firmly within the Greek tradition. He refrained from using the eastern Roman, or Byzantine, names for the new capital, and employed the name of the ancient Greek colony 'Byzantion' instead of 'Constantinople' or 'New Rome'. In his conception, Byzantion was the place where Hellenes and Romans had mixed from the time of the Roman influx in the fourth century onwards.[180] In this, he insisted on the demographic

[177] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 1-8.
[178] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 2 l. 20-3 l. 8.
[179] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 4 ll. 3-16 (for the Greek text see n. 181).
[180] Chalkokondyles contrasts this early phase of peaceful mingling with more recent conflicts between Byzantines and westerners. He mentions the most important issues. First, Chalkokondyles mentions the fact that the Romans (westerners or Latins) appointed for themselves a 'king of the Romans' ('βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων'), sometimes of German, sometimes of French extraction. Also, he mentions the problem of the religious schism, resulting in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), and the attempts to achieve a Union during the council of Ferrara-

and linguistic predominance of the Hellenes in the city. According to the historian, this Greek dominance explained the fact that the Hellenes had preserved their language and retained their customs ('γλῶτταν μὲν καὶ ἤθη … φυλάξαι') during the period of Roman rule. While Chrysoloras had maintained that the Byzantines had 'almost' lost their Hellenic name, Chalkokondyles on the contrary claimed that they had not maintained their ancestral name, but changed it into Romans ("Ρωμαῖοι"). Therefore, their kings called themselves kings and emperors of the Romans, and never kings of the Greeks.[181]

Through this programmatic passage Chalkokondyles proposed a compromise between Greeks and Romans presenting Greek culture (language and customs) within the context of a Roman political order (the eastern Roman empire).[182] Unlike Chrysoloras, however, he insisted on the fact that the Byzantines were Hellenes rather than Romans; that they were *really* Hellenes in charge of a Roman empire. As we have already seen, what Chalkokondyles desired to see restored was a polity of Greeks ruled

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Florence (1438–1439). See Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 4-5. On Chalkokondyles' fairly complex ideation of the Romans see also Kaldellis (forthcoming b).

[181] Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) 4 ll. 3-16: '… ἐς ὃ δὴ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἀφικουμένους, ἰσοτάλαντον ἔχοντας τύχην τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἐπιτρέψαντας Ῥώμην τῷ μεγίστῳ αὐτῶν ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ διαβάντας ἐς Θρᾴκην, ὑφηγουμένου ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ χώραν, ἥτις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐγγυτάτω ᾤκηται, Βυζάντιον Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν μητρόπολιν σφῶν ἀποδεικνύντας, πρὸς Πέρσας, ὑφ'ὧν ἀνήκεστα ἐπεπόνθεισαν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖσθαι, Ἕλληνάς τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῦ ἐπιμιγνύτας, γλῶτταν μὲν καὶ ἤθη διὰ τὸ πολλῷ πλέονας Ῥωμαίων Ἕλληνας αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν διὰ τέλους φυλάξαι, τοὔνομα μέντοι μηκέτι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον καλουμένους ἀλλάξασθαι, καὶ τούς γε βασιλεῖς Βυζαντίου ἐπὶ τὸ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορας σεμνύνεσθαι ἀποκαλεῖν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ βασιλεῖς οὐκέτι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιοῦν'. *[At that point the Romans had attained the greatest empire in the world, having their fortune in proportion to their virtue. They entrusted Rome to the highest of their priests and crossed over into Thrace under the command of their emperor, and within Thrace to the area which is the closest to Asia. Having made the Greek city of Byzantion their capital, they carried on the struggle against the Persians, at whose hands they had suffered such terrible things. From this point on, Greeks mixed with Romans in this place, and because there were far more Greeks established there than Romans, their language and customs ultimately prevailed. However, they did change their name and no longer called themselves after their ancestors. So, the kings of Byzantion prided themselves upon the title 'king and emperor of the Romans' and no longer 'king of the Greeks'.]* The translation is after Anthony Kaldellis' forthcoming translation of Chalkokondyles with slight adaptations.

[182] Also later in his history Chalkokondyles rationalised the interrelationship between Byzantines and ancient Hellenes. So, for example, he ended his account of the fall of Constantinople by saying that the fall and destruction of the city was a penalty the Byzantine Greeks suffered for what they had done in Troy. See Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1923) 166-167, but note that Chalkokondyles qualified this explanation of the fall of Constantinople by saying that it is the way the Romans see what happened.

by a Greek. In this way, his retrospective Hellenisation of Byzantium anticipated the schools of Greek national history that effectively denied the Roman identity of the Byzantine empire in order to claim it for the newly invented Greeks of the nineteenth century.[183]

In the works of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy, we will find many of the features we have encountered in the works of Gemistos Plethon and Chalkokondyles: their emphasis on the ethnic link with the Hellenes, the stress on and anxiety about cultural preservation, the dissociation from the Romans, the territorialisation of the cultural space of Hellenism, and the idea that the Hellenes as a group transcended contemporary dynastic and political boundaries. Even so, we must be aware that the import of their Hellenism was very different. In the diaspora they had to negotiate between their commitments to their host societies and their loyalty to the homeland. While Plethon's Greekness was an act of intellectual resistance against traditional structures of eastern Roman power and the failure of traditional Byzantine humanism to respond to contemporary challenges,[184] the Hellenism of the Byzantine diaspora responded to different impulses and problems. Especially after the fall of the empire, emphasis shifted away from reform towards preservation and maintenance, and the centre of Hellenism moved way from Constantinople or the Peloponnesus to the diaspora. After the fall of Constantinople, the question was not how to reform Byzantine society, but how to preserve the Greek legacy and how to move the West towards a crusade against the Ottoman Turks to deliver Greece. Also, the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy did not face a Greek audience; they on the contrary addressed an almost exclusively Latin audience, with which they perhaps shared more than with their countrymen who remained 'at home'. Most if not all of them supported the union with the Church of Rome or even converted to the Roman Church and participated in humanist culture, while in the East strong anti-western sentiment continued to exist, classical education was largely absent, and the Patriarchate became the focus of the Greek community under Ottoman rule. The Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy therefore reflected not so much an internal Greek or Byzantine point of view as they reflected a western vantage point on Byzantium and the Byzantines. As we shall see in the next chapter, the way they presented themselves as Greeks in the West was largely mediated by Latin discourses and therefore to a certain extent an imposed kind of Greekness. Unlike Plethon's Greekness, their Greek alterity was a *negotiated* and not a *radical* form of Greekness. Even so, the selection of case

[183] See on this esp. Kaldellis (forthcoming b).
[184] Cf. Siniossoglou (2011) 24-25.

studies in the second part of this study will show that the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy not simply mimicked Latin points of view, but also manipulated them.

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It has not been my intention in this chapter to chart the still understudied patterns of mutual impact of the authors discussed, or their impact on a wider Byzantine or western audience. Even so, a few observations will suffice to countervail the idea that the influence of intellectuals such as Plethon and Chalkokondyles has been minimal.[185] It is a truism that their impact was restricted to their audience (which was a limited number of scholars), yet it must not be underestimated. Plethon was the teacher not only of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, but also of Bessarion and many others.[186] Chalkokondyles worked some of Plethon's ideas into his historical interpretations,[187] and also Bessarion followed in Plethon's footsteps with his policy note to the despot of the Morea.[188] In addition, it seems that the works of both Plethon and Chalkokondyles were fairly well known in the West at least among those who could read Greek.[189] So, for instance, Chalkokondyles' history was used by Janus Lascaris, who added marginal notes to his copy of the Athenian's history.[190] Apart from Lascaris' manuscript, twenty-four further

[185] See the introduction in Chalkokondyles, ed. Nikoloudis (1996) 58-59, but see also Livanos (2008) 244 for a more nuanced view.

[186] The only comprehensive study on Plethon's thought, and in particular his Platonism, is Siniossoglou (2011). On Plethon's impact see Blum (2005b). The systematic inventorying, editing, and translating of his works is still a serious desideratum (Signes Codoñer 1998: 56). Clues for further research and a well-informed status quaestionis with valuable bibliographical references can be found in Blum (2005b) 49-58 (see also Skoutelas 1999: 78-92). On Plethon's *Nachleben* see esp. Woodhouse (1986) 357-379, Bertozzi (2003), Skoutelas (1999) 45-48, Plethon, trans. Lisi & Signes (1995) XLI-XLVIII.

[187] On the influence of Plethon's idea of fate on Chalkokondyles' views see Harris (2003b) and esp. Kaldellis (forthcoming a).

[188] On the influence of Plethon's views on Bessarion in particular see Pertusi (1968).

[189] This was different for the other historians I mentioned, Kritovoulos and Doukas. They were largely if not entirely unknown to the West. The one manuscript of the former's work was stored in the sultan's private library and remained unknown until the nineteenth century.

[190] It concerns BNP, Cod. gr. 1781. For the presence of the codex in Lascaris' book collection see Jackson (2003b) 114 (the provenance of the manuscript is not recorded by Darkó in Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó 1922: XXII). Also other manuscripts of Chalkokondyles' history can be

manuscripts survive, all from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[191] in addition to Latin, French, and Tuscan translations of (parts of) his work.[192] Manuel Chrysoloras' comparison of old and new Rome (though addressed to the Byzantine emperor) circulated among Italian humanists from almost immediately after its completion and was rendered into Latin almost immediately after the fall of Byzantium.[193] Indications of dissemination and impact such as these can be multiplied and would merit a separate evaluation in a more comprehensive study on the subject. What is most important here is that, even if the circumstances in which they worked changed dramatically, the Byzantine scholars of the Italian diaspora did use the Greek rather than the Roman tradition to confront the challenges of their situation. In the next chapters we shall see, for example, cardinal Bessarion defending Greek freedom, Janus Lascaris Hellenising the Romans of the West, and Johannes Gemistus territorialising the cultural space of Hellenism. Before we delve into the case studies in the second part of this study, we will in the next chapter first explore the self-representation of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy against the backdrop of western 'Latin' views on Byzantium and the Byzantines.

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connected to Byzantine scholars. So, for instance, the present Parisinus gr. 1780 (the oldest of them all) was produced by Dimitrios Angelos (see Mondrain 2000: 240).

[191] For an overview of the manuscripts see the *codicum catalogus* in Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó (1922) xvi-xxv with Wurm (1995, 1994). It is unlikely that the work was often read in the original Greek. This is evidenced by the fact that the first (Latin) translation (1566) preceded the *editio princeps* of the Greek text (1615) by more than forty years. On the text history of the printed editions of Chalkokondyles' text see the preface in the edition of Darkó (1922-1927), which is the last critical edition of the Athenian's history.

[192] Latin: Chalkokondyles, trans. Clauser (1556); French: Chalkokondyles, trans. Vigenère (1577, 1662). The 1662-edition of Vigenère's translation was enlarged with a continuation up to 1661. See on Vigenère's rendering Balsamo (2004). A selective, but interesting translation in Tuscan was prepared by Donato di Ruberto Acciaiuoli in 1542. I found it in 2009 in Rome (BA, Ms. 2247). A further Italian translation of Chalkokondyles' fourth book (owned by Donato Acciaiuoli) is in Modena (BE, Fondo Campori, Ms. 300).

[193] Guarinus Veronensis for instance, got the Greek work as early as 1411 (see Guarinus, ed. Sabbadini 1916: 20-21). In 1454, the Veronese humanist Franciscus Aleardus produced a Latin translation of the *Comparison*. See Enrico Maltese's introduction in Chrysoloras, trans. Cortassa (2000) 53-54 and see, for Aleardus' translation, Niutta (2002, 2001). I am currently preparing a translation of Chrysoloras' text with an introduction and notes.

Chapter 2

The Imposition of Greekness in Italy

The previous chapter showed how in the final decades of Byzantium Gemistos Plethon and Laonikos Chalkokondyles began to review their connection with the ancient Hellenes. They not only recast this relation in terms of descent – transforming traditional forms of Byzantine Hellenism –, but also undermined the central position of the Romans in their self-image. The late- or post-Byzantine diaspora in Italy continued to represent themselves as Hellenes, but they did so in a very different context. We must take this into account in order to understand the precise import of their Hellenism. In addition to the differences mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, it is equally important to stress that unlike Plethon the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy did not need to justify their claims to Greekness. Westerners had looked upon the Byzantines as Greeks from at least the ninth century. As we shall see in this chapter, this imposition of Greekness had advantages that the post-Byzantines manipulated as well as disadvantages that they tried to avoid. This chapter offers an overview of the ways in which Byzantines in Italy gave substance to their relation with the ancient Hellenes against the background of how the Italians perceived of them, namely as Greeks and *not* as Romans. The final section zooms in on the ambivalent evaluations attached to the Greek rubric in Italy and on the stereotypes Italian humanists employed to characterise the Byzantines in different settings.

The imposition of Greekness

Western scholarship has always represented the Byzantines as Greeks. This bias has a long history that ultimately goes back to the ninth century. In 800, pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne emperor of the Romans. The western claim to imperial Rome eventually undercut the 'Roman' authority of the Byzantine empire. While the Byzantines themselves never really stopped to call themselves Romans, western sources from the ninth century onwards reflect an anti-Byzantine bias that denied the Roman legacy to Byzantium. The underlying idea was that the coronation of Charlemagne entailed not just a division of the Roman empire (the *divisio*) nor a renovation of the occidental

empire (the *renovatio imperii*), but the veritable transferral of the *imperium romanum* from the Greeks to the West (the *translatio imperii*).[194]

Italian historians of the fifteenth century present no exception to this general trend in western historiography. From their medieval sources they adopted the practice of calling the Byzantines Greeks instead of Romans. They thus perpetuated a western tradition that predated the Byzantines' self-declared Greekness with approximately four centuries. However, their denial of the Roman legacy to the Byzantines was a cultural rather than a political matter. While Italian chronicles of the period maintained the older idea of *translatio imperii* from the Greeks to Charlemagne, many humanist historiographers seem to accept the status of the eastern empire.[195] Even so, this did not make the Byzantines Romans. Italian humanists associated the Roman rubric with Latin rather than Greek and often also with the Roman Church. In their view, veritable Romans ('Romani') lived in Rome and wrote Latin. Italian humanists moreover imagined themselves to be the descendants of the ancient Romans, who had colonised Italy before subjecting the world to their *imperium*. In the founding myths they created for their cities and city-states they often traced origins or foundational events back to Roman times,[196] and they created fantastic Roman genealogies for ruling families. Although their recuperation of Latin preserved a common European culture, Italian humanists saw it as principally 'theirs'.[197] The classic expression of such Roman pride is perhaps Valla's preface to the *Elegantiae linguae latinae*. In his introduction to this work, the humanist claimed that the Italians had maintained at least their more lasting cultural *imperium* since the French, Spanish, Germans and many other nations of the world had accepted Latin's sway.[198] During the fifteenth century, the idea of Italian heirship to the Roman legacy was cited and adopted with different emphases by such important humanists as Salutati, Brunus, and Sabellicus.[199]

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[194] Arbagi (1969) 1-26. Note that the details about the coronation of Charlemagne (such as the exact date of the event and the pope responsible for it) differed. See on this for the medieval period in particular Goez (1958) 62-236.

[195] See on this in more detail Goez (1958) 237-257 who discusses the views of, among others, Leonardus Brunus, Flavius Blondus, Platina, Sigonius and Sabellicus. But see also Pertusi (2004) 19-20 who contrarily emphasises the persistence of the idea of *translatio imperii*.

[196] This is not exclusively characteristic of the humanists. Beneš (2011) has shown that also in the period between 1250 and 1350 intellectuals in northern Italy created Roman pasts for their cities.

[197] Pade (2012) 5-6.

[198] Valla, ed. Garin (1952) 596.

[199] For an overview of the role of humanist Latin in the formation of Italian identities see now Pade (2012).

From this vantage point, it is understandable that Italians in particular would not identify Greek-speakers living (roughly speaking) in the territories of the ancient Hellenes with the Romans, even if they could not claim to be the actual political heirs to ancient Rome themselves. In order to understand why Italian humanists could name the Byzantines Greeks at the same time they called their ruler emperor of the Romans, we must realise that for them the *imperium* was (at least in theory) a transferable principle of supreme authority that could move from one people to another. So, within the league of the *imperium romanum* – sometimes identified with the Fourth Monarchy – the imperial ball had moved from the Romans to the Greeks after the final dissolution of the western empire in the fifth century and from there to the Gauls (with the coronation of Charlemagne) and the Germans (with that of Otto the Great almost two centuries later). If a ruler acquired the *imperium romanum*, and thus obtained the title of 'emperor of the Romans', this did not automatically mean that his subjects became identified as 'Romans' in any sense beyond the formally political one. This explains why, for Italian humanists, the Byzantines could be Greeks under a Roman emperor.

So, even if Italian humanists recognised that the Byzantine empire was somehow a remnant of the Roman empire, they did not perceive of the Byzantines as Romans, but as Greeks. In their historical works, for example, they consistently called the eastern Romans 'Greeks' ('Graeci'), although they often did call their emperor 'Roman'. It seems that, for Italian humanists, the Byzantines had always been Greeks from Constantine's *translatio imperii* in the fifth century until their own days. When, for instance, Flavius Blondus discussed the Gothic-Byzantine Wars (535–554) in his famous account of the decline of the Roman empire, he presented it as a war between Goths and Greeks, although he did call Justinian a 'Roman emperor'.[200] Similarly, he saw the war of Pandulf Ironhead against the Byzantines (968) as a war to repel the Greeks 'who had dared to assist the Saracens against the Roman emperor' (then Otto I).[201] In the exceptional case that they did call the Byzantines collectively 'Romani' (as did, for example, Palmerius in his *Liber de temporibus*) they denoted the Byzantines before the Carolingians.[202] The idea behind this apparently was that after the *translatio imperii* the

[200] Blondus (1484) fols. Cv^{v}, Di^{r}, Ev^{r}, Kviii^{v}.

[201] Blondus (1484) fol. Kviii^{v}: 'Maius tunc Othoni et Pandulfo caput ferreo negocium fuit Graecos repellere qui Sarracenis per indicias foederatis adversus imperator Romanum opem ferre conati sunt'.

[202] In his *Liber de temporibus*, Matthaeus Palmerius called the Byzantines 'Romani' in his account of world history until the end of the eighth century (see Palmerius, ed. Scaramella 1906: 61 ll. 12-

Greeks of the Roman East lost the 'Roman' dignity which they had enjoyed as the political successors of the Romans. Yet it seems that Italian humanists generally also called the pre-Carolingian Byzantines Greeks. Franciscus Philelfus, for example, claimed that 'in the person of Charlemagne the *imperium* was transferred from the Greeks to the Romans'.[203] Examples can easily be multiplied, not only from humanist historiography,[204] but also from other types of sources ranging from extravagant humanist poetry to austere diplomatic acts.[205]

Italian humanists were not completely unaware of the Byzantines' own claims to Romanness. Sabellicus, for example, observed that the Greeks called their prince 'emperor of the Romans' in their diplomatic acts and books and that they called the inhabitants of Constantinople 'Romaei'.[206] Moreover, in the exceptional case that they wrote in Greek, they could prove sensitive to the finesse of Byzantine naming. In his Greek letters, for instance, Franciscus Philelfus called the Byzantines Romans

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14, 22-24, 37-39; 62 ll. 9-10, 18-21; 63 ll. 37-39). Thereafter, he called them invariably 'Graeci' (see n. 202).

[203] Philelfus, ed. Gualdo Rosa (1964–1968) 136 l. 10 (ca. 1048); 162 l. 17: 'imperium a Graecis transtulit ad Romanos in persona Caroli Magni'. Philelfus dated the event in ca. 756. His assertion reflects confusion about whom Charlemagne actually represented (Gauls? Germans? Romans?). See for such confusion in the medieval sources esp. Goez (1958) 204-206.

[204] Similar usages are found throughout humanist historiography. See, for example, Accoltius (1544) fols. $A4^{v}$-$A5^{r}$, $B6^{r}$, $C3^{v}$, $D3^{v}$, $E1^{r}$-$E5^{r}$, $F7^{r}$, $F8^{r}$, $K6^{v}$, $M5^{v}$ (First Crusade, 1096-1099); Brunus, ed. Santini (1914) 64 ll. 25-26 (1274) and Brunus, ed. Di Pierro (1914) 455-456 ll. 3-4 ('imperatorem Graecorum') and *passim* in his account of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439); Philelfus, ed. Gualdo Rosa (1964–1968) 136 l. 10 (ca. 1048); 162 l. 17 (ca. 756); Forestus (1485) fols. 228^{r} (752), 237^{r} (886), 237^{v} (ca. 892), 242^{v} (971), 243^{v} (977), 249^{r} (1006), 261^{v} (1126), 262^{r} (1130), 263^{r} (1139–1140), 372^{r} (1202), 374^{r} (1215), 377^{r} (1260), 379^{r} (1260); Palmerius, ed. Scaramella (1906) 74 ll. 5-7 (790), 86 ll. 10-12 (983), 89 l. 43-90 l. 3 (1053–1056), 100 ll. 24-25 (1204), 106 ll. 35-37 (1274), 113 ll. 15-16, 37-39 (1330), 144 ll. 39-45 (1438), 145 ll. 31-40 and 169 ll. 32-33 (1453); Platina, ed. Gaido (1913) 179 l. 14 (1042); 179 ll. 29-30 (1076); 179 l. 36 (1014); 181 ll. 3-4 (1038); 185 ll. 23-25 (1056); 216 ll. 33-35 (1158); Sabellicus (1535) 322b (9th cent.), 326a (9th cent.), 335a (ca. 963), 312a (ca. 800). Note that in Bembus' Venetian history (ed. Ulery: 2007–2009), the 'Graeci' (or 'equites Graeci') specifically refer to stradiots fighting in the service of Italian lords.

[205] In poetry, the alternative 'Graii' was preferred over 'Graeci'. See, e.g., Molza, ed. Scrosone & Sodano (1999) 35.1; Piccolomineus, ed. Van Heck (1984) 450 l. 22, 474 l. 31; *idem*, ed. Van Heck (1994) 2.92 (but cf. 2.49); Pusculus, ed. Elissen (1857) 35 (2.421); Zovenzonius, ed. Ziliotto (1950) 2.11.37. See also the diplomatic documents concerning the Peloponnesus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought together by Chrysostomides (1995) 1 l. 4, 58 l. 45, 326 l. 79, 366 l. 74, 463 l. 126, 479 l. 8, 482 l. 6, 545 l. 5.

[206] Sabellicus (1535) 275b: '[Graeci] suum principem Romanorum imperatorem suis diplomatibus et libellis inscriberent ipsique Constantinopolitani Romaei graeca voce decerentur'.

(“Ρωμαῖοι’), even if he called their country ‘Hellas’.[207] He used the Roman label not only in the stock formula ‘*autokrator* of the Romans’,[208] but also to refer to the Byzantines either collectively or individually. For example, when he wrote to Sultan Mehmet II in 1454 to ransom his mother-in-law, he admitted that ‘the sin of the Romans handed out Constantinople to your goodness so that the wrongdoers will learn their lesson’.[209] In another letter he introduced one John Gavras as ‘a young man who [was] by birth a Roman, according to New Rome that is’.[210] We must not forget, however, that Philelfus presents something of an exception among the Italian humanists; he probably could make such fine distinctions because he was aware of the subtleties involved in naming the Byzantines in the Greek language due to his close contacts with the late-Byzantine upper class (he travelled to Constantinople and married a Greek noblewoman from the Chrysoloras family). At least one contemporary feared that due to his admiration for the

[207] I examined Philelfus’ 110 Greek letters together with the Greek poems in the edition of Émile Legrand (1892). ‘Romans’ is used by Philelfus with reference to the Byzantines (see Philelfus, ed. Legrand (1892) nr. 17, p. 41; nr. 32, p. 63; nr. 37, p. 73; nr. 41, p. 63), but also to the ancient Romans (see nr. 89, p. 158; nr. 100, p. 176), while ‘Λατῖνος’ is used to refer to contemporaneous users of the Latin language (see nr. 19, p. 43; nr. 100, p. 189). ‘Hellas’ is used by Philelfus to denote Byzantium in a flattering letter to Johannes Argyropulus (Milan, April 13, 1441); he says that the Byzantine scholar plainly takes the first place among the wise men in Greece (see Philelfus, ed. Legrand 1892: nr. 24). See also Philelfus’ usage of ‘Hellas’ in the letter to Demetrios Sgouropoulos and his poem to Isidore of Kiev (Philelfus, ed. Legrand 1892: 169 ll. 4-5, 209 ll. 13-28). Jeroen De Keyser is currently preparing a complete edition of Philelfus’ Latin letters which will also entail his Greek letters according to the unpublished edition of Alessandro Leccese.

[208] See Philelfus, ed. Legrand (1892) nr. 17, pp. 41 (Milan, October 19, 1440): ‘τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως καὶ μεγίστου Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος’ (to Johannes Palaeologus).

[209] See Philelfus, ed. Legrand (1892) nr. 41, pp. 63-64 (Milan, March 11, 1454): ‘ἡ γὰρ ἁμαρτία Ῥωμαίων παρέδωκε τῇ σῇ καλοκαγαθίᾳ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν εἰς παίδευσιν, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀδικούντων’.

[210] See Philelfus, ed. Legrand (1892) nr. 37, p. 73 (Milan, October 23, 1454): ‘νεανίσκος, τὸ μὲν γένος Ῥωμαῖος ἐστὶ (κατὰ τὴν νέαν δηλονότι Ῥώμην)’. The phrase ‘κατὰ τὴν νέαν δηλονότι Ῥώμην’ is equivocal. ‘δηλονότι’ obviously signals epexegesis, while ‘κατὰ’ with an accusative has multiple meanings. Here, an interpretation like ‘according to (the standards of) New Rome’ seems the most appropriate, but an alternative interpretation (less likely because it makes the sentence elliptic) is that Gavras was a Roman by birth as he was born ‘in the region of New Rome’. Note also that Philelfus’ addressee was Thomas Coronaeus (Tommaso Franco), a Greek medic from Coron. This makes the addition curious. It may indicate that Philelfus felt that for Greeks born outside New Rome like Franco the Roman identification of Gavras was in need of clarification as it was for a western audience. On Coronaeus see Foffano (2000).

Greeks Philelfus had become a Greek, yet Philelfus emphatically replied that he had always been a Latin and would always be so.[211]

Even though at least some humanists were aware that the Byzantines called themselves Romans of a sort, they did not invent a name for them that reflected this in Latin. In his Latin correspondence, even Philelfus did not hesitate to refer to the 'Graeci' when he meant the Romans of the East, without exception and without further qualification.[212] At first glance, the formula 'Imperator Romeorum' used by the Italians might imply that contemporary Byzantines were 'Romei', yet it was a fossilised Latin loan translation of the official Greek title of the Byzantine emperor. How fossilised the expression had become by the first half of the fifteenth century appears best from the Latin proceedings of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, where the Grecism 'Romei' is not used at all beyond the formula 'Imperator Romeorum'. In all other instances where the Byzantines are meant, reference is to 'Graeci', not 'Romei'.[213]

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[211] See Philelfus, ed. De Keyser (forthcoming) 1.4 (a letter to Marcus Lippomanus, 1427). Note that Bisaha (2004) 129 on the contrary took the line as an indication for 'a sense of cultural absorption on Philelfus' part'. The contrary is true. Philelfus wrote: 'Accepi litteras tuas, quibus non dubio declarasti tibi meum reditum in Italiam voluptatis plurimum attulisse, quippe qui dubitasses me non litteraturam solum, sed naturam etiam Graecorum adamavisse, ob idque factum omnino Graecum, praesertim cum Graecam uxorem quam Latinam ducere maluerim, petisque quantum librorum mecum advexerim' *[I received your letter, in which you plainly state how much joy my return in Italy caused you for you suspected that I not only admired the literature, but also the nature of the Greeks and that I had therefore become entirely Greek, especially so because I preferred to marry a Greek rather than a Latin wife, and you ask how many books I took with me]*. Bisaha wrongly took 'quippe qui dubitasses' as the introduction of a rhetorical question in the third person singular, while 'quippe qui' in fact introduces an explanatory relative clause referring back to the implied subject of 'declarasti' (hence also the generic subjunctive in the second person singular, 'dubitasses'). This interpretation is confirmed by Philelfus own assertion in the same letter: 'Et sum Latinus et fui semper. Nec aliud quicquam ex Graecia reportavi quam litteraturam atque disciplinam…' *[I am and I have always been a Latin. And from Greece I brought back nothing else than literature and knowledge…]*. Cf. Resta (1986) 9-10 from which Bisaha misquoted the line.

[212] See the forthcoming edition of Philelfus' correspondence by Jeroen De Keyser.

[213] *Conciliorum*, ed. Alberigo & Dossetti (1973) 521, 523, 531, 561 (but we also find 'imperator Graecorum' on 517). The evidence can easily be multiplied from other sources. In Italian discourse, this is also reflected in, for example, the Italian *Vite* of Vespasiano da Bisticci, where the Council is discussed at some length. Throughout his biographies, the word 'Romani' always refers to either the inhabitants of contemporaneous Rome, or the ancient Romans, but never to the Byzantines (whom Bisticci like the authors of the *Acta* calls 'greci'). See, e.g., Bisticci, ed. Greco (1970–1976) 5, 22, 39, 71, 67-68, 444, 530, 642, 688, 973, 975, 983, 984, 985. Also Guicciardini in his *Cose fiorentine* refers to the Byzantines as Greeks and never as Romans, even when he

Particularly interesting in this respect is the way Italian humanists rendered into Latin the 'Ρωμαῖοι' they encountered in Byzantine sources.[214] They had several options to translate the culturally sensitive word. They could choose to faithfully transliterate it into Latin ('Romaei') as they did when they referred to the 'imperator Romaeorum', or they could fully explicate its Roman import by using 'Romani'. They could also suppress Roman associations by turning the Romans into 'Graeci'. Although most Byzantine historians were translated only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Raphael Maphaeus' rendering of Procopius' history of the Persian Wars provides one of the interesting exceptions.[215] In his translation of the Greek text, Maphaeus chose to translate 'Ρωμαῖοι' with either 'Romani' or 'Romaei'.[216] In a revealing introductory note, he explained the rationale behind his choice to do so:

> 'Monendum postremo censui quod a Romanis Romaeos diduxi quo Graeci uocabulo Romanos Latinosque ante Constantinum uocabant. Postea uero in antiqua nominis et Imperii possessione peruersantes Romaeos se item dici contenderunt: quapropter non tam nominum potestates quam gentes his appellationibus discretas adnotaui'.[217]
>
> *I thought it necessary to warn that I distinguished Romaeans from Romans; by the former name the Greeks called the Romans and Latins before Constantine. Thereafter, however, insisting on their ancient possession of both name and empire [of the Romans], they demanded to be called Romaeans themselves. Hence by these designations I denote not so much distinct nominal nuances as distinct peoples.*

Maphaeus did not acknowledge the relation of identity between Italian Romans and eastern Romans that was implied by the Greek word 'Ρωμαῖοι' as Procopius had used it. He moreover deconstructed this relationship by distinguishing the Romans and the Romaeans. For him, the 'Romaei' were Greeks who had claimed the Roman name together with the empire, but were not really Romans. The Romans ('Romani') and Latins ('Latini') were entirely different peoples. Interestingly, a similar dissociation

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mentions them in conjunction with their Roman emperor (see, e.g., Guicciardini, ed Ridolfi 1945: 263, 'lo imperadore e greci vennono in sulle galee del papa').

[214] Pertusi (2004) 13-20.

[215] Pertusi (2004) 6-20. Other early Latin translations of Byzantine authors are by Leonardus Brunus (Procopius, 1470) and Christophorus Persona (Procopius, Agathias) in addition to translations into Italian by Nicolaus Leonicenus of Vicenza (Procopius) and Benedictus Aegius (Procopius).

[216] See, e.g., Procopius, trans. Maphaeus (1509) fols. Diii^{v}, Ei^{r}, Fii^{v}, Giv^{v}, Iii^{r}, Iii^{v}, Iiii^{r}, Ki^{r}, Kii^{r}, Liii^{v}, Niii^{r}, Nv^{r}. Botley (2004) 38 observed that Brunus sometimes styled Procopius' 'Ρωμαῖοι' 'Graeci'.

[217] Procopius, trans. Maphaeus (1509) Ai^{r}.

between Romaeans and Romans is suggested by the usage of the Byzantine scholar Kanavoutzes (Canabutius) in his treatise about Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (ca. 1430–1455), where he distinguished between 'Ρωμαῖοι' and 'Ρωμᾶνοι', but without explaining why he did so.[218] While Italian humanists discussed such matters occasionally at the semantic level of naming, as did Marcantonius Sabellicus and Raphael Maphaeus, in general they did not voice any awareness of the Greco-Roman hybridity expressed by, for instance, Manuel Chrysoloras (discussed below in chapter 1, pp. 37-40).

Just as the Byzantines in general, individual Byzantines were identified as 'Graeci' if they were not identified with their birth-place. For example, Nicolaus Capranica called cardinal Bessarion a 'Trapezuntine' and a 'Byzantine' in his funeral oration for the cardinal, while an anonymous eulogist called him a 'Greek by nation'.[219] By the same token, Petrus Bembus referred to Constantine Lascaris as a man who outranked all 'Graeci' living today.[220] No one ever styled them 'Romani'.[221]

There is, perhaps, one exception. In the Latin epitaph that Vergerius the Elder composed for Manuel Chrysoloras in 1415, the poet stated that the Byzantine professor was a 'Constantinopolitan knight from the ancient stock of the Romans (*genus Romanorum*) who migrated with emperor Constantine'.[222] Some have taken Vergerius'

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[218] Cf. Kaldellis (2007a) 399-400. Kanavoutzes composed his treatise for Palamede Gattilusio between 1433 and 1455, available in the Teubner edition of M. Lehnerdt (1890) (see on Kanavoutzes *PLP* nr. 10871). There are no full studies on him. See Hinterberger (2002), Diller (1970) and Mercati (1927) in addition to Lehnerdt's introduction.

[219] Capranica, ed. Mohler (1942) 407 l. 10 and Anonymus, ed. Migne (1866) XCV ('greco di nazione'). In his *Chronicon* Forestus introduced several popes and rulers as Greeks by birth: pope Saint Zosimus (Forestus 1485: fol. 197^{v}), pope Leo I the Great (*id.* fol. 205^{r}), Eleutherius the Exarch (*id.* fol. 219^{r}), pope Saint Zachary (*id.* fol. 227^{r}), Andronicus (*id.* fol. 249^{r}), and Michael VIII Palaeologus (*id.* 279^{r}).

[220] Cited in Donadi (1975) 127

[221] It has been argued that Marullus' fellow poet Manilius Cabacius Rallus called himself 'Manilius Romanus' in an edition of Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus, published in 1475 in Rome. However, it seems that the edition is misattributed to Cabacius Rallus and should perhaps be attributed to Sebastianus Manilius Romanus. See on this Lamers (forthcoming a).

[222] The Latin text is as follows: 'miles | constantinopolita | nus ex vetusto | generi romanorum | qui cum consta | ntino imperatore | migrarunt'. See Guarinus, ed. Sabbadini (1915) 114 ll. 77-79 (= nr. 54). Cf. the epitaph by Piccolomineus, ed. Van Heck (1994) ep. 4, esp. ll. 8-9: 'Roma meos genuit maiores; me bona tellus | Bizantina tulit, cinerem Constantia seruat' (note that in the title of the poem he is called 'Emmanuel Chrysoloras Graecus'). Cf. Thorn-Wickert (2006) 121-122 without reference to Van Heck's edition. Piccolomineus' epitaph for Chrysoloras is fashioned

claim literally.[223] Others have proved him wrong and revealed that the Chrysoloras-family originated from the Greek islands and not from Rome.[224] Yet the significant thing about Vergerius' epitaph resides in the fact that he ranked Chrysoloras among the Romans instead of the Greeks, probably because he was aware that the Byzantine scholar and diplomat was so proud of his Roman background.[225] Rather than a historical lapsus on the part of Vergerius this is an exceptional example of Italian recognition of a Byzantine as a Roman rather than a Greek – exceptional especially in the light of the otherwise sharp dividing lines between Greeks/Byzantines and Latins/Italians.[226]

In the final section of this chapter, I will investigate the implications of the Greek rubric in more detail. The name which the Italians ascribed to the Byzantines was obviously not 'just' a name, but implied expectations and stereotypes (see p. 20 above). As Greeks, the Byzantines were not the heirs but the former subjects of the Romans, as Petrarch had maliciously recalled already in the fourteenth century.[227] They were, moreover, the maligned aggressors of the Trojan War, the enemies of Aeneas, who got their just deserts in 1453 – this was at least the argument of, among others, Philelfus' son Johannes Maria.[228] But the Byzantine Greeks were also the descendants or representatives of those who had civilised Rome and by their learning and wisdom had 'conquered their conqueror'.[229] As we shall see at the end of this chapter, Italian attitudes towards the Byzantine Greeks were typically ambivalent. Before turning to these issues, however, it is imperative to ask how the Byzantine intelligentsia responded to their imposed Greekness in Italy. Did they resist it? Embrace it? Did they explicitly reject their traditional Romanity? Or did they tacitly retain it?

The Byzantines' own dissociation from the Romans

When the Byzantines arrived in Italy, they were welcomed as Greeks. What had been a daring experiment in later Byzantium was the norm in the West. The Byzantine

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after Vergil's: 'Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc | Parthenope. Cecini pascua rura duces' (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 36).

[223] So, for instance, Hody (1742) 12 and Schöll (1830) 502-503.

[224] Thorn-Wickert (2006) 12-15, 120.

[225] Cf. Guarinus, ed. Sabbadini (1915) 63 ll. 16-20 = nr. 25.

[226] Similar interpretations in N. Zorzi (2002) 87-88 n. 2 with bibliography and esp. Maltezou (2000) 533-534.

[227] For Petrarch's views on the Greeks see further Bisaha (2004) 118-122.

[228] Cf. Bisaha (2004) 131-132.

[229] Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.156: 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit'.

intelligentsia in the Italian diaspora generally embraced the Greek rubric that the West had put on them ever since the ninth century. While Chrysoloras still maintained the Greco-Roman hybridity of the Byzantines, most of the Byzantines in Italy rather followed Laonikos Chalkokondyles and perhaps also Johannes Argyropulus in accepting that the Romans of their times were not they, but the Italians or Latins. It is noticeable that in Italy they did not attempt to explain or justify their cultural or ethnic kinship with the ancient Greeks, probably because the Italians already saw them as Greeks and not as Romans. But they were explicit about their dissociation from the Romans. Although Byzantine scholars did not reflect extensively on Byzantine history, we can gauge their views on their relations with the Romans from several cursory remarks in their works, and for illustration I will zoom in on a treatise on Athenian chronology, a letter about etymology, and a poem about the cultural decline of the Hellenes.

In his *De mensibus Atticis* (ca. 1470), Theodore Gaza accounted for the fact that the Attic calendar had fallen into disuse.[230] As an explanation he put forward that the Romans had superimposed their own calendrical system upon the original Greek one. Under Roman rule the Hellenes lost 'the purity and elegance of their own language' by mixing it up with Latin elements. In this way, Gaza explained, 'even now, after receiving the colonies of the Romans, they still call themselves Romans instead of Hellenes, using the names of the Romans for the months as if they were their own'. Unlike Chrysoloras (asserting that the Byzantines had *almost* lost the name of their ancestors) Gaza claimed that the Hellenes had taken over the name of the Romans and had also adopted their cultural practices as if they were their own (like naming the months). In this way, according to Gaza, they had perverted their Hellenism:

> Τῆς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἀγνοίας τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν αἴτιον τὸ Ῥωμαίους ἅμα καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἐνίαυτον καὶ ἄρξαι ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ [πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων]. καὶ

[230] For a very short introduction to the life and works of Gaza with a concise bibliography see Harris (2000f). It must be noted that Gaza's reconstruction of the Athenian calendar was not an isolated project and seems to fit in with a reviving interest in ancient chronology in the fifteenth century, both in Byzantium and in Italy. Gemistos Plethon (whose calendar is prominent in Gaza's treatise) had special interest in ancient Greek chronology (on which see still Anastos 1948). Cyriac of Ancona moreover outlined the Roman calendar for Constantine Palaeologus in Greek in 1448 (Lambros 1930, Castellani 1896). Italian humanists were particularly interested in the Athenian calender, which bore on their interpretation of Greek historiography. It seems that, before Gaza, Manuel Chrysoloras composed a guide to the Greek calendar which is now lost (see most recently Botley 2006). For a concise overview of the awakening interest in chronology and calenders more generally see also Grafton (2010).

τὸ τῆς φωνῆς δὴ καθαρὸν, τὸ κομψὸν Ἕλληνες ἀπολωλεκότες, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων φωνὴν ᾗ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι ἐξίσταντο καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀνομάτων ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς τῶν μηνῶν προσηγορίαις τοῖς σφετέροις ἀναμιγνύντες ἐχρῶντο· δεξάμενοί τε ἀποικίας Ῥωμαίων αὐτούς τε ἄχρι καὶ νῦν ῥωμαίους ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων καλοῦσι καὶ ὥσπερ οἰκείαις ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τοὺς μῆνας χρῶνται ὀνομασίαις'.[231]

A reason for the ignorance of those before us regarding this [i.e. the Attic calendar] is the fact that the Romans set matters straight concerning the year-cycle, and ruled the Hellenic people like the other peoples. And the Greeks, having lost the purity and elegance of their speech, changed towards the speech of their ruler, as usually happens, and of the Roman words they used many others and especially the names of the months, mixing them with their own. After having received the colonies of the Romans, they even now still call themselves Romans instead of Hellenes, and used the names of the Romans for the months as if they were their own.

This passage elucidates how a Byzantine intellectual could recast the historical and cultural relations between 'Byzantines', Romans and Hellenes. It comes very close to what Laonikos Chalkokondyles told us in more detail in his history (see chapter 1, pp. 52-54). In the passage from Gaza's treatise, the Byzantine past is reframed as part of Hellenic rather than Roman history. The people whom we now call Byzantines appear to be Hellenes whom the Romans initially subjected (traditionally after the Battle of Corinth in 146 BC). Yet after almost 500 years of Roman rule, they 'received' the Roman colonies, assumedly when Constantine the Great transferred the capital of his empire to Byzantion and renamed it after himself.[232] After the transfer, the Hellenes began to call themselves Romans, which explains that in Gaza's day the Byzantine Hellenes still styled themselves by that name. Hence, the 'Byzantines' are really Hellenes who in different phases of their history for various reasons adapted their language, customs and name to the Romans, at first because the Romans ruled over them, later because the Hellenes stepped into the red shoes of the Roman emperors.

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[231] Gaza (1495) fol. avii^{v}. I left 'πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων' ('that is in addition to the ruling of others') outside the translation and placed it between square brackets in the Greek text, because it seems to be an intrusive gloss explaining 'καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ' (which might also be the case for 'τὸ κομψόν' explaining 'τὸ καθαρόν'). As it is beyond my scope to examine the textual tradition of Gaza's text, this must obviously remain a speculative emendation.

[232] Compare the curious testimony of George Amiroutzes who saw the Romans just as the Macedonians as foreign occupiers who eventually handed over their empire to the Greeks out of admiration for their civilisation (Amiroutzes, ed. De La Cruz Palma 2000: 4 ll. 6-20). Gaza may also refer to the moment in the fifth century AD when the western Roman empire had definitively declined and the eastern Roman empire remained to the Greek-speaking emperors (and the Hellenes so 'received' the Roman colonies).

Interestingly, Constantine Lascaris offered a similar analysis in a very different context in a letter to Georgius Valla regarding the meaning and etymology of the Greek transliterations 'ὀφφίκιον' (Latin *officium*) and 'ὀφφικιάλιος' (*officialis*). 'Although [the words] are used by us', Lascaris wrote, 'they are Roman words, and we employ them as if they were our own due to our habitual use of them ever since the Romans became masters over the Hellenes and in particular from the moment that Constantine the first established his marvellous *patris*'.[233]

In the past, Byzantines had sometimes also referred to Latin words in Greek, but then they had used them to corroborate their claims to the Roman legacy. In the thirteenth century, for example, the patriarch Ioseph adduced precisely the word 'ὀφφίκιον' to justify in the context of Latin polemic that the Byzantines called themselves Romans.[234] Gaza and Constantine Lascaris, on the contrary, are not interested in claiming (back) a Roman cultural or political legacy for the Byzantines. Rather the contrary. They perceived of the Roman impact on Greek civilisation (its calendrical system and its language) as an externally imposed and foreign intervention in Greek affairs, culminating with the adoption of the Roman name. Gaza even explicitly rejected Roman influence as something undesirable because in his view it perverted the purity ('τὸ καθαρόν') and elegance ('τὸ κομψόν') of the Greek language. Similar views would much later be reformulated – in broader terms and with wider implications – by Greek national historians eager to brush away the Roman aspects of what they had begun to represent as medieval Greek and not eastern Roman history.

The anti-Romanity of Gaza's analysis in *De mensibus* found fuller expression in a Greek epigram by Janus Lascaris, who was the most prominent proponent of a new generation of Byzantine scholars after Gaza's and Bessarion's. The epigram also exemplifies the broader implications of what it meant to be called a Hellene. In the small piece, Lascaris praised Demetrius Lascaris for his wisdom and vigour.[235] Even so, his praise for the nobleman rapidly turned into vehement criticism of the Hellenes in general. In particular, the poet disapproved of the general inertia of the yoked Hellenes.

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[233] C. Lascaris, ed. Martínez Manzano (1994) 171 ll. 7-11: 'τὸ ὀφφίκιον καὶ ὁ ὀφφικιάλιος, εἰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν λέγονται, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων φωναὶ εἰσὶ καὶ χρώμεθα διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ὡς οἰκείαις, ἐξ ὅτου Ῥωμαῖοι ἐγκρατεῖς Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο καὶ μάλιστα ἐξ ὅτου Κωνσταντῖνος ἐκεῖνος τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην ᾠκοδόμησε πατρίδα'. Compare in this context the statement of George Trapezuntius of Crete, also recording that after the transferral of the *imperium Romanum* the Greeks began to use the Roman names of the months (Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani 1984g: 299, §6).

[234] Kaldellis (2007a) 384.

[235] On the identification of this personage see Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1976) 138.

In the poem, the daemons of the earth give air to their fear that Demetrius Lascaris is a new Heracles sent by Zeus to take revenge for Greece, so ruining the works of mother earth. However, mother earth personally consoles her daemons. 'Dear sons', she says, 'this is not the moment to fear this. He will have the name and the fame of a great leader, but he will do hard work for others like a second Heracles: Zeus is not yet gentle towards the Hellenes and won't be as long as they wickedly hate the name, customs, and wisdom of their ancestors'.[236] Together with the name of their ancestors ('σφῶν προγόνων … οὔνομα'), the Hellenes abandoned their ancestral customs and wisdom ('ἔθη', 'σοφίην') so that they cannot escape the oppression of the Ottoman Turks.

The anti-Roman idea of Lascaris' poem is spelled out in an as yet unpublished commentary to Lascaris' Greek poems, written by the scarcely known humanist Christophorus Contoleon from the island of Kythira.[237] In his commentary to Lascaris' epigrams, Contoleon explained that 'Zeus no longer favours the Hellenes as long as they hate the name of their own ancestors: the Hellenes (as they do not want to be called Hellenes but Romans instead), and as long as they do not aim for the customs and wisdom of their ancestors, but lead their lives in ignorance and stupidity'.[238] In other words, the way to recovery would be to follow the deeds and wisdom of the ancient Greeks and to claim back their name.

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[236] Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1976) 57 ll. 8-12: 'τέκνα φίλ', οὔτι δέος καίριον ὔμμι τόδε· | ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου τῷδ'οὔνομα καὶ κλέος ἔσται, | ἀλλ'ἑτέροις πονέει, δεύτερος Ἡρακλέης· | οὐ γὰρ ἔθ' Ἕλλησι Ζεὺς ἤπιος, ἄχρις ἀλιτροὶ | σφῶν προγόνων στυγέουσ' οὔνομ', ἔθη, σοφίην'.

[237] A thorough study and complete edition and translation of the works of Contoleon are still a serious desideratum. It may not only increase out knowledge about the activities of Leo X's Greek Academy, but it is also relevant to the field of Homer-studies (esp. in connection with the reception and allegorical interpretation of the poet). For some observations regarding Contoleon's place in the reception of Homer see Pontani (2005) 459-460, 496, 509 n. 1141. The only pioneering work on Contoleon is Meschini (1973) which went almost entirely unnoticed. Apart from Meschini, the most informative source about Contoleon is the equally neglected Paranikas (1867) 134 and 152 with note 8 (note that Paranikas did not know Matranga's edition of four of Contoleon's writings on Homer on which see Matranga 1850: 22-24). For the rest, Contoleon is most often only mentioned in passing (Saladin 2000a: 173-174, Morgan 1983: 186, Geanakoplos 1973: 149). In addition to the works listed by Matranga, Contoleon wrote a treatise entitled *De immortalitate animae*, edited by Meschini (1973), on which see further Kristeller (1983) 112, Omont (1889) 205, Paranikas (1867) 152 n. 8, Haenel (1830) col. 882. BAV, Vat. gr. 2141 preserves Contoleon's extracts from Plotin.

[238] BAV, Vat. gr. 1352, fols. 225^{v}-226^{r} (cf. Lascaris, Meschini 1976: 139): 'οὐκέτι Ζεὺς εὔνους τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἕως οὗ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἑαυτῶν προγόνων ὄνομα μισοῦσιν (οὐ θέλουσι γὰρ Ἕλληνες καλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι), οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἤθη καὶ σοφίην περιποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀπαιδευσίᾳ τὸν βίον διάγουσι'.

Hellenism and Greekness: Competence and ancestry

In Italy, the Byzantine intelligentsia indeed claimed back the name of the Hellenes. Unlike thirteenth-century Byzantines, they did not identify as Hellenes in order to explain to themselves and the Latins *what kind of* Romans they were; instead they transformed themselves into Hellenes, while they conceded the Roman rubric to the westerners, and the Italians in particular. The generic labels they applied to themselves must be discussed in some detail, not only since naming is by definition the most important way of identifying and categorising, but also because names indicate claims to the past.[239] The bilingual oeuvre of cardinal Bessarion composed for a mixed audience of Latins and Greeks offers a good example of the Byzantines' usage. In his many Greek works, Bessarion called the Byzantines either Hellenes ('Ἕλληνες') or Greeks ('Γραικοί'). In sharp contrast to the Byzantine tradition, he confined the Roman label ('Ῥωμαῖοι') to speakers of the Latin language (alternatively the 'Λατῖνοι'), the members of the Roman Church and the ancient Romans.[240] He did not apply it to the Byzantines, apart from the obligatory stock phrase 'βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων' which he rendered into Latin as 'imperator Graecorum' in his Latin correspondence.[241]

It seems that for Bessarion there was a difference between the 'Ἕλληνες' and 'Γραικοί' that is not adamant, but still clearly noticeable. Bessarion used to call the Byzantines Greeks ('Γραικοί') when he referred to them in religious contexts (when we would perhaps call them the 'orthodox').[242] This usage is consistent with what we find in the ecclesiastical writings of his Byzantine contemporaries, where the Byzantines are also called Greeks instead of Romans or Hellenes.[243] In the diaries of Sylvester Syropoulos, for example, recording the council of Ferrara-Florence, we find 'Γραικοί' to

[239] This appears, for example, from the debate over naming the Turks which boiled down to the question where the Turks came from and how they related to the peoples of Europe. On naming the Turks see the discussion of Meserve (2008) 142-154.

[240] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1927), 234 ll. 27-39 (with 235 ll. 23-34), 496 l. 36 – 498 l. 6 (with 497 l. 32 – 499 l. 7), 514 l. 36 – 516 l. 4 (not translated), 580 l. 16 (with 581 l. 16), 602 ll. 21-43 (with 603 ll. 18-37), 612 l. 2 (with 613 ll. 5-6). For the opposition of Latin versus Greek speakers in terms of 'Ἕλληνες' versus 'Ῥωμαῖοι' see Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1927) 282 l. 1.

[241] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 491 l. 32, 564 l. 14, p. 542 ll. 33-37 ('Graeci').

[242] On 'Γραικοί' see also p. 36 n. 122 above. Note that Bessarion sometimes called the Greek fathers 'teachers of the Hellenes' or 'Hellenic fathers' as in Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942a) 73 l. 23-24 ('καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν διδασκάλων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Λατίνων') or 80 l. 25 ('Ἕλληνες πατέρες').

[243] A notable exception is Theodore Gaza who in a letter to his brothers used 'Ἕλληνες' and 'Ῥωμαῖοι' to refer to the Byzantine orthodox and Roman catholics respectively (Gaza, ed. Leone 1990: 48-49 ll. 17-31 = Bessarion, ed. Mohler 1942c: 573 ll. 7-19).

refer to the Byzantines, and Syropoulos even speaks of the 'βασιλεὺς Γραικῶν' with reference to the eastern Roman emperor.[244] In the same vein, Isidore of Kiev (another participant in the council) called the Byzantines 'Γραικοί' (often in opposition to the Latins) both in his *Sermones* and in his *Ad synodum Florentiae*.[245] This equally applies to late-Byzantine works such as Markos Eugenikos' *Dialogue* between a 'Λατῖνος' and a 'Γραικός',[246] and Scholarios' *Disputationes Florentinae*.[247] At the same time, however, the usage was not entirely uncontested. When the Greek label was used by a Latin to denote the Byzantines, it was easily interpreted as an insult. So, for example, the metropolitan of Thracian Medea was outraged against Eugenius IV as the pope had dared to call the Romans of Byzantium 'Greeks'.[248]

Bessarion's usage of the Hellenic rubric is more complex. While he retained its 'pagan' meaning in some contexts,[249] he equally applied it to the Byzantines in a distinctively positive sense. His employment of the word "Ἕλληνες' typically sits at the crossroads of Hellenism and Greekness as defined in the previous chapter, i.e. between the study and stylistic imitation of ancient Greek literature, and the ethno-cultural identification with the ancient Hellenes. For Bessarion, in a narrow sense, the Hellenes were those who had privileged access to ancient Greek language and literature, often in opposition to the Latins.[250] But he also used the label with a more collective meaning

[244] Syropoulos, ed. Laurent (1971) 244 (4.41.16-17).

[245] See, e.g., Isidore, ed. Candal & Hofmann (1971) 65 l. 27, 84 l. 24, 95 l. 1, 118 l. 36.

[246] Eugenicus, ed. Petit (1977). Note, however, that Janus Lascaris uses the word once outside the ecclesiastical context in one of his Greek epigrams (Lascaris, ed. Meschini 1976: 44.12)

[247] See, e.g., Scholarios, ed. Jugie, Petit & Siderides (1928) 3.18.29, 4.5.29, 4.17.24, 5.18.6, 7.1.1, 7.1.18.

[248] Syropoulos, ed. Laurent (1971) 124 (2.21.22-23) with 125 n. 5: "Ὑβρίζει ἡμᾶς· καλεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς Γραικούς, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὕβρις. Πῶς οὖν ἀπελευσόμεθα ἐκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ὑβρίζει μας;' *[He insults us as he calls us Greeks, and this is an outrage. How then shall we depart thither (i.e. to the council in Italy), seeing that he insults us?]*.

[249] In his *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, for instance, Bessarion called Plato and Aristotle 'Hellenes', which he rendered in Latin as 'gentiles'. This was common usage in Greek Christian literature. Cf. Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1927) 108 ll. 19-20 with the Latin on 109 ll. 17-18, 146 l. 15 with 146 l. 17, 154 ll. 13-14 with 155 ll. 12-15, 154 l. 23 with 155 l. 24, 156 l. 24 with 157 l. 24-25, 166 l. 38 with 167 l. 33, 176 l. 33 with 177 l. 33, 186 l. 2, 618 l. 1 (not translated into Latin). Cf. Bessarion, Mohler (1927) 140 ll. 12-13 with 141 ll. 14-15, 154 l. 12 with 155 l. 14, 178 l. 24, 300 l. 16 with 301 l. 15 (cf. 384 ll. 36-37 with 385 ll. 35-36 and 402 ll. 8-9 with 403 ll. 7-8), 310 l.23-24 with 311 l. 23-24, 314 l. 13, 364 l. 22 with 365 l. 20, 444 ll. 9-10 with 445 ll. 10-11.

[250] Examples of this usage are legion. See, e.g., Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1927) 8 ll. 12-35 (with the Latin text on p. 9 ll. 15-35), 24 ll. 23-28 (with 25 ll. 24-29), 84 l. 31 – 86 l. 3 (with 85 l. 36 – 87 l. 6),

when he lamented over the destruction of the 'remaining Hellenes' or when he feared the 'complete obliteration of the Hellenes'.[251] In these instances, Bessarion was not only referring to the cultured elite of Byzantium. As we shall see in our discussion of Bessarion's *Encomium to Trebizond* in the next chapter, for him the Hellenes constituted a group that was tied together not only by a shared language, but also by origin and descent. His calling the Byzantines 'Hellenes' probably was in itself intended to make the link between the ancient Greeks and the Byzantines as explicit as possible. Even though Aristotle had maintained that 'Γραικοί' was the more ancient name of the Hellenes,[252] Bessarion did not refer to the ancient Greeks as 'Γραικοί', preferring 'Hellenes' both for the ancient Greek *auctores* as well as the ancient Greeks as historical agents with whom he felt associated through descent.

Bessarion's usage is typical for that of the Byzantines in his circle as well as for the expatriate Byzantine intelligentsia in general.[253] In their Greek works, post-Byzantines such as Theodore Gaza, Andronicus Callistus, Michael Apostoles, Nicolaus Secundinus and others all referred to themselves and their compatriots as Greeks or Hellenes instead of Romans. In his threnody on Constantinople, for example, Callistus referred to Hellenes instead of Romans to designate his compatriots collectively.[254] He bemoaned the fortune of the Hellenes, called Constantinople their common hearth, and referred to the Byzantines collectively as the 'flock of the Hellenes'.[255] The same usage can be found

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168 ll. 6-8 (with 169 ll. 5-7), 201 ll. 13-14, 220 ll. 19-25; 538 ll. 3-10 (with 537 l. 12 – 539 l. 2), 630 ll. 6-9 (with 631 ll. 20-22).

[251] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 479 ll. 11-12, 480 ll. 11-12, 482 ll. 13-14.

[252] See Arist. *Mete.* 352b2: 'αὕτη [ἡ Ἑλλάς ἡ ἀρχαῖα] δ' ἐστὶ ἡ περὶ Δωδώνη καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον … ᾤκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δ' Ἕλληνες' *[Old Hellas is the country around Dodona and Acheloüs … Here dwelt the Selloi and the people then called Greeks and now Hellenes]*. See also *FHG* 1.542 (= Parian Marble, 11); Apollod. 1.7.3; Call. *Fr.* 104; Lyc. 532, 891, 1195; Paus. 3.20.6; S. *Fr.* 2, 160 (with the useful note of Pearson on fr. 518). See Hall (2002) 70, 129, 170 for some discussion.

[253] These groups largely overlap. Until his death in 1472, Bessarion's circle in Rome was the primary meeting place for learned Byzantines who had chosen or had been forced to live in Italy. Most Byzantines living in Italy were somehow associated with the cardinal's circle at a certain stage of their career. See also chapter 3.

[254] Callistus ed. Migne (1866) 1131, 1133, 1137, 1138, 1140.

[255] Callistus, ed. Migne (1866) 1131 and 1133 ('ἡ κοινὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑστία, τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑσμόν, ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πληθύς'). See also Callistus' letter to George Palaiologos Disypatos (1476), ed. Migne (1866) 1017-1020 (esp. 1020: 'τὸ δυστυχὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος'). On the further unknown Disypatos see Papadopulos (1962) 95 (nr. 189). At the same time, Constantinople remained 'New Rome' (see Callistus, ed. Migne 1866: 1133).

in the voluminous correspondence of Michael Apostoles, who fled from Constantinople to Venetian Crete and was closely connected with Bessarion's circle in Rome. In his letters, addressed to a mixed audience of Greeks and Italians, he referred to the Byzantines as 'Hellenes'.[256] Incidentally, he also called them Greeks, mainly in the context of the church of Constantinople.[257] Most importantly, he never called them Romans, a label which he reserved for the Romans of the West, the Italians, whom he considered a *genos* just as the Hellenes.[258] We find the same patterns in the works of later generations of Byzantine scholars in Italy such as Apostoles' son Arsenios, Marcus Musurus, Janus Lascaris and others. Both Arsenios and Musurus identified their contemporaries as Hellenes instead of Romans both collectively and individually, both for a Latin and for a Greek audience.[259]

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[256] Apostoles, ed. Noiret (1885) 70-71 (nr. 47: 'ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀχθόμενοι συμφοραῖς ἔπειθον ῥαίσειν τὰ τῶν Γραικῶν, τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοῖς Γραικοῖς ἐξουθενημένον'), 72-73 (nr. 53: 'τὸ πολύπονον γένος Ἑλλήνων, τὰ δίκαια τῶν σῶν Ἑλλήνων τηρῶν'), 77 (nr. 58: '[Βησσαρίων] ὁ τοῦ γένους νυνὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προστάτης καὶ κόσμος τῆς ἐκκλησίας'), 82 (nr. 63: 'βασιλέων οὐκ ὀλίγων Ἑλλήνων ἀπόγονος' = Thomas Palaiologos), 88 (nr. 70: 'τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων σοφῶν'), 114 (nr. 93: 'Χριστιανοὶ πάντες, οἵ τ' Εὐρωπαῖοι καὶ ὅσοι λείψανα τῶν Ἑλλήνων'), 117 (nr. 95: 'οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀμείνους'), 121 (nr. 100: 'τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα'); M. Apostoles, ed. Legrand (1885) 236-237 (nr. 6, *passim*), 239-240 (nr. 10: 'τὸ κάλλος σώζοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων' (= Manuel Chrysaphis, cf. Noiret 1889: 30), 'ὑμῖν ἐμὲ συνδιάγειν Ἕλληνα Ἕλλησι'), 249 (nr. 27: '[Βησσαρίωνος] ὅς οὐχ ὅσον τὸ γένος τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοσμεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν'), 249 (nr. 28: 'τὸ γένος ... τῶν Ἑλλήνων'). This usage is also attested both in his treatise against Demetrius Chalcondylas (see Apostoles, ed. Stefec 2010: *passim* but esp. 138: 'τοῦ σοφωτάτου τῶν νῦν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων' = Plethon), and in his tract against Theodore Gaza (see Apostoles, ed. Powell 1938: 132 l. 24 : '"Ελληνες ὄντες καὶ τὴν ἀχαριστίαν κακίζοντες'), 134 ll. 98-99 ('οἱ .. τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραποδισμοί'), 134 ll. 108-109 ('"Ελληνας ἰταλίζοντας').

[257] Apostoles, ed. Noiret (1885) 70-71 (nr. 47), 89 (nr. 70). In both instances, Apostoles complained that his fellow Greeks bullied him because of his Latin sympathies. So, he referred to the Greeks as adherents of the Byzantine rite in opposition to the Roman Church. This is not so in Apostoles, ed. Noiret (1885) 76 (nr. 57: 'ἐν τῶν Γραικῶν τοῖς ὑστάτοις κἀν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Εὐρωπαίων, ἑκατέρου τοῦ γένους τοῖς πᾶσι γε ὑπατεύοντος [Βησσαρίωνος]'). Obviously, Bessarion is the foremost of the Greeks collectively, certainly not of the adherents of the Byzantine Church specifically.

[258] M. Apostoles, ed. Legrand (1885) 236-237, 249 (nr. 27: '[Βησσαρίωνος] ὅς οὐχ ὅσον τὸ γένος τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοσμεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν')

[259] For Arsenios see A. Apostoles, ed. Manoussakas (1968) 28 ll. 128-131 ('ἀπόδοτε τὸ πανταχοῦ διεσπαρμένον γένος ἡμῶν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐπανασώσατε τὰς ἑλληνίδας τῶν πόλεων· νομίσατε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκούειν βοώντων ἱκετῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἐπεκκαλουμένων') (cf. 31 ll. 37-41), 32 l. 4 ('ἐπὶ τὸ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων λόγους ἐπανακτήσασθαι'), 34 l. 7 ('μὴ μόνον τοῖς Ἑσπερίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν'); ed. Bandini (1764) 86 ('Γραικῶν ... τὴν Ἐκκλησία'); ed. Legrand (1885a) 223

While the word '"Ελλην' entailed high cultural status, it seems that the Roman and Greek rubrics were less appreciated. So, for example, in his famous *Hymn to Plato* (1513), Marcus Musurus placed Janus Lascaris on a par with the Athenians and Spartans of ancient Hellas, and differentiated them from those 'who we are nowadays, called Greeks or Romans'.[260] Similar patterns are found in the oeuvre of Janus Lascaris. While in Latin and Italian he called his compatriots 'Graeci' and 'greci', in his Greek works he referred to them as Hellenes or, only incidentally, Greeks.[261] In Latin and Italian, the Byzantine refugees could not differentiate between Hellenes and Greeks as they could in Greek, and complied with Latin usage. The examples are legion. In his *De familia Otthomanorum* (ca. 1456), for example, Nicolaus Secundinus referred to the Byzantines as 'Graeci', and he even refers to the Byzantine emperor as 'imperator Graecorum' as did cardinal Bessarion in his Latin correspondence.[262]

('"Ελληνας ἰταλίζοντας'), 171 ('τῶν ταλαιπώρων Ἑλλήνων'); ed. Legrand (1885b) 340 (nr. 5: 'ὁ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπισημότατος' = J. Lacaris), 341 (nr. 5: 'τὸ πολύπονον γένος Ἑλλήνων, Ἑλλήνων βοώντων καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἐπεκκαλουμένων, ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ἕλληνας ἰταλίζοντας'), 343 (nr. 6: 'ἐγὼ Ἕλλην ὢν τὸ γένος'). For Marcus Musurus see Musurus, ed. Belloni (2002) 652 l. 35 ('Λασκάρεως τοῦ ὄντως Ἕλληνος'), 671 l. 28 ('"Ελληνι' = Demetrios Chalkokondyles); ed. Legrand (1885a) 49 ('τῶν καθ' ἡμας Ἑλλήνων'), 59 ('οἱ γὰρ ἀφ' ἱρῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάνων παισὶ πρέπουσι τύποι'); ed. Legrand (1885b) 318 (nr. 6: 'τοῖς ἑκασταχοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἕλλησι διαζῶσιν'). See also Justin Dekadyos in A. Apostoles, ed. Manoussakas (1968) 17 l. 9 (= 6a l. 9) ('τῶν νῦν Ἑλλήνων').

[260] Musurus, ed. Legrand (1885c) 108 ll. 55-58: '"Εξοχα δ'αὖ περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖ δύο, τὸν μὲν ἀφ'ἱρῆς | Ἑλλάδος οὐχ ἕνα τῶν οἳ πελόμεσθα τανῦν, | Ῥωμαῖοι Γραικοί τε καλούμενοι, ἀλλὰ παλαιοῖς | Ἀτθίδος ἢ Σπάρτης εἴκελον ἡμιθέοις· | Λασκαρέων γενεῆς ἐρικυδέος ἄρκον ἄωτον...' *[Most of all, he loves two men in his heart: one of them is from holy Greece, not one of those who we are nowadays, called Greeks or Romans, but equal to the ancient half gods of Attica and Sparta: the finest flower of the very famous race of the Laskarids…]*. Note that in his Latin translation of the hymn, preserved in BML, Plut. 36.35 (fols. 27^{r}-30^{r}), Janus Lascaris translated "Ρωμαῖοι' with 'Romani' (see fol. 28^{r}: 'Romani Graecique vocati') (cf. Gentile 1986: 56). Roald Dijkstra and Erik Hermans are currently preparing the publication of a new English translation of the Greek *Hymn* with a concise literary commentary.

[261] For his Greek poetry: J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1978) nr. 52 ll. 2 and 4, nr. 30 l. 11, nr. 45 l. 15. For his Greek letters: J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1992) 380 l. 26-27 ('τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κακοδαιμονίας τε καὶ ἀθλιότητος'), 386 l. 5. For his Italian treatises: J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1985) 266 l. 354 ('imperio de' Greci'); 267 l. 382; 280 l. 700; 293 l. 87 ('li Graeci gentilhomini'); 303 l. 226 ('Thraci, Macedoni, Thesali, Peloponensi et altri Graeci et Illyrici'); 313 l. 466 ('Graeci delle nobilissime prime case e coniuncti a quelle'); 336 l. 921 ('noi Graeci') (cf. 282 l. 761: 'sono anchora in Grecia homini che se ricordeno de la libertà et tenghano la relligione christiana'). For his Latin works see chapter 5.

[262] Secundinus, ed. Philippides (2007) 56, §2 ('negligentia Graecorum'), 60, §5 ('inter Graecos', 'Graecorum ductu', 'Graecorum viribus'), 62, §5 ('Graecos', 'Graecorum imperium'), 70, §7

The Greek rubric entailed the notion of either Hellenism or Greekness, depending on the context. The Greek word '῞Ελλην' retained its traditional meaning of 'learned in Greek', much in the same way as in contemporary Dutch 'graecus' denotes an expert on ancient Greek language and literature, but does not imply nationality. This explains why Byzantines could call individual Italian humanists 'Hellenes', if they found that they were not inferior to native Greeks as regards their understanding of ancient Greek language and literature.[263] In a letter of 1483, for example, Manuel Adramyttenus wrote to Politianus that he was 'a perfect Hellene as regards [his] speech'.[264] The usage is explicitly thematised in a poem by Janus Lascaris that was attached to the Greek lexicon of Guarinus (1523):

« τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐποίευν καὶ ἀμείψομαι οἷα μ' ἐρωτᾷς.
« Τίς; πόθεν; ἠὲ τίνων; » « Εἶπα τίνων· Μεδίκων. »
« Οἶδα τόδ', ἀλλ' ῞Ελλην; » « ῞Ελλην δοκέω. » « Φορέουσιν
ἡμεδαποὶ δ'ἄλλοῖ'. » « Αὐσονίων γονέων. »
« Πῶς ῞Ελλην; » « Πεδόθεν· τεκμαίρομαι Ἑλλαδικαῖσι
σπουδαίς· καὶ δ'ἄλλως, εἴρεο Πυθαγόρην
Εὐφόρβου ψυχὴν πῶς ἔλλαχεν· εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν,
ὥδε Βαρῖνος ἔφυν Γραικὸς ἐν Οἰνοτρίῳ. »[265]

'I am the author and I will respond to anything you ask'. 'Who are you? Where are you from? To whom do you belong?' I told you: the Medici'. 'I know, but are you a Greek?' 'I think so'. 'But our men wear different clothes'. 'I stem from Ausonian parents'. 'How can you be a Greek then?' 'From childhood on I proved it with my Greek studies. Otherwise, ask Pythagoras how he obtained Euphorbos' soul. If it is allowed to say so, that is how I, Guarinus, became a Greek in [the body of] an Oenotrian'.

('manus Graecorum', 'naves Graecorum', 'emissus a Graecis'), 74, §8 ('imperator Graecorum'), 78, §8 (twice 'Graecis').

[263] These 'Hellenes' must be distinguished from philhellenes, or those favourable to the Greeks or the Greek case. In this sense, Theodore Gaza called both pope Nicholas V and Leonello d'Este 'philhellenes', comparing the latter to Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the ancient Roman liberator of the Greeks (see Gaza, ed. Mohler 1942c: 262 ll. 11-12 and Gaza, ed. Leone 1990: 49-50 ll. 38-43 = Bessarion, ed. Mohler 1942c: 573 ll. 24-29).

[264] Philelfus, ed. Legrand (1892) 356-358 (July 4, 1483): '῞Ελλην ἤδη τέλειος τὴν φωνὴν ὢν καὶ κομιδῇ ἀττικὸς' *[being already an accomplished Hellene by speech and perfectly Attic]*. On Manuel Adramyttenus see still Bianchi (1913) (cf. Hody 1742: 314-316). An important manuscript with works of Adramyttenus is preserved in Munich (BSB, Cod. gr. 321).

[265] Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1976) nr. 44 ll. 5-12 (with pp. 155-158). The commentary of Contoleon to this poem is available in BAV, Vat. gr. 1352, fol. 229^{r}-229^{v}.

Italian humanists could allude to the same idea, calling colleagues Greek or Attic,[266] and Gaza in a Latin letter praised the Greek competence of Christophorus Persona as almost native knowledge.[267] Such identifications of Italians as Hellenes were limited to the language competence of singular individuals. As we shall see in chapter 5, however, Janus Lascaris elsewhere pushed the limits of this usage, giving a deeper historical significance to the Hellenism of the Italians by alluding to the ethnic origins of the Latins and Romans collectively.

It is significant that Byzantines began to use the language of descent and kinship to characterise their relation with the ancient Hellenes. In a letter to cardinal Bessarion, for example, Michael Apostoles boldly claimed that 'we boast that we are children of the Hellenes and follow in their footsteps – and in theirs only'.[268] In a response, Andronicus

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[266] 'Graecus' is used with this meaning in a Latin translation of Politianus' only transmitted Greek letter (XII, 20). Politianus (attr.), ed. Fabbri (2008) 28. See also the letter of Picus to Politianus in Politianus, ed. and trans. Butler (2006) 28 (= 1.8.2), where Picus asserted that Politianus' fluency in both Latin and Greek made it difficult to determine which language is foreign and which native. It seems that 'Atticus' was also used to apply to a non-Greek in the context of language competence. I found an example of it in an elegiac epitaph for Hermolaus Barbarus, preserved in BAV, Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 49^{r}: 'Barbarus Hermoleos atque Atticus atque Latinus | Hic iacet, hoc qui sit forsitan ipse roges. | Barbarus est gentis nomen, Latiumque et Athenas | Utraque de tenebris eruta lingua dedit. | Romae obiit merito, priscis miscere suum qui | Nominibus nomen, dignus et ossa fuit' *[Barbarus Hermoleos, both Attic and Latin, reposes here, and you may perhaps ask who he is. Barbarus is his family name, and both languages, rescued from the shadows, gave him Latium and Athens. He aptly died in Rome, he who was worthy of mixing his name with ancient names, and his bones with ancient bones.]*. Note the play both with the name 'Barbarus' (also meaning 'barbarian'), contrasting with Barbarus' competence in the two primary languages of civilisation, and with the alternation of Latin and Greek name endings (-us and -os), reflecting Barbarus' being both 'Atticus' and 'Latinus'. Cf. Gaza, ed. Leone (1990) 79-80

[267] Gaza, ed. Leone (1990) 79-80, esp. 79 ll. 3-13. This strategy was not confined to competence in Greek. So, for example, in his dedication of Homer's *Iliad* (1504), Aldus Manutius praised Hieronymus Aleander for his competence in both Greek and Hebrew (Manutius, ed. Orlandi 1975: 82): 'tanta praeterea linguae volubilitate verba Graeca pronuntias, tantaque aptitudine et facilitate inspiras Hebraica, ac si mediis Athenis mediaque Israelitarum urbe, quo stabant tempore, natus et educatus esses' [*You moreover pronounce Greek words with such fluency of speech, and the aspirates of Hebrew with such aptitude and facility, that you seem to be born in the heart of Athens or the city of the Israelites, in the time when these cities were in their prime*]. Cf. Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 386-387 (§23).

[268] Apostoles, ed. Mohler (1942) 169 ll. 5-6: 'Ἡμεῖς φαμεν, θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, παῖδες Ἑλλήνων εἶναι καυχώμενοι κἀκείνων τοῖς ἴχνεσιν, οὐχ ἑτέρων ἑπόμενοι…'. Also elsewhere in his *Ad Theodorum Gazae obiectiones* Apostoles uses the term 'Ἕλληνες' to refer to his learned contemporary Byzantines. See Apostoles, ed. Mohler (1942) 168 ll. 20-22: 'Ἐξ ὧν σὺ ταῦτ' ἔμαθες

Callistus sardonically stated that 'we know that you are a child of the Hellenes, and that you are the worst and parricidal son of a good father at that.'[269] Other examples leave little doubt that some Byzantines indeed perceived of themselves as the descendants of the ancient Hellenes, and not only as the custodians of their heritage. Marcus Musurus, for instance, eulogised Demetrius Chalcondylas and Janus Lascaris together as 'the autochthones (αὐτόχθονες) of most ancient Hellas' and claimed that they sprung from the same ancestors as the country's primeval heroes.[270] As we shall see in the next chapters, Bessarion explicitly defined the Hellenes in terms of descent, shared history and culture, and a common character (chapter 3, pp. 99-105); Janus Lascaris predicated his argument in favour of Hellenism upon the idea that Byzantines stemmed from the ancient Hellenes (chapter 5, pp. 171-176); and Johannes Gemistus spoke of his ancient kinsmen from Epidaurus, while he also pointed at the ethnic links between the ancient Greeks and other European peoples (see chapter 6, p. 214 and pp. 218-219).

More than their Byzantine predecessors (except Plethon) had ever done, the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy articulated their connection with the ancient Hellenes in ethnic terms. In Italy, it helped them to strengthen and corroborate their claims to the prestigious legacy of the ancient Greeks. Their 'ownership' of this legacy enabled them not only to bolster their self-esteem, but could also serve to give substance to their appeals to the western powers to liberate Greece (see esp. chapter 3, pp. 120-122).

As Byzantines identified with the ancient Hellenes they also recognised the rift in time and place that separated them from their glorious ancestors. While some pointed at Roman colonisation as a cause for cultural decline, the impact of the fall of their capital city and the subsequent Turkocracy were commonly considered to be disastrous to the continuity of Hellenism. At the same time, the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy saw itself clearly as the custodian of the Greek literature and the wisdom and knowledge purveyed in it. In a letter to Andronicus Callistus, Secundinus wrote that he could barely stop lamenting over the destruction of their common people and the Greek language, except perhaps when he thought of his addressee:

λέγειν τὰ δεξιά, οὐδ' ἐμὲ λελήθασιν, ὦ δαιμόνιε. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ εἰσιν οὗτοι, οἳ τῶν νῦν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων οὐ μόνον οἴονται σοφώτεροι γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτους αὐτοῦ καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος'. Cf. p. 168 ll. 35-36: 'οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε τῶν παλαιοτέρων, οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων'.

[269] Callistus, ed. Mohler (1942) 200 ll. 1-3: Ἑλλήνων μέν σε παῖδα ἴσμεν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς κάκιστον μέντοι καὶ πατρολοίαν υἱόν.

[270] Musurus, ed. Legrand (1885d) 146: '"Επειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Χαλκονδύλην καὶ σὲ, τοὺς αὐτόχθονας τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοῖς ὠγυγίοις ἐκείνοις ἥρωσιν ὁμοσπόρους, ἐπεχείρησαν ἡμεδαπῶν ἐντυπώσει βιβλίων'. The text is in the preface to the Aldine edition of Pausanias (1516).

Ὅτι γὰρ ὁρᾷν ἕνεκά γε σοῦ ἔτι λείψανα τῆς καλῆς περιόντα Ἑλλάδος καὶ παῖδας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πατέρας ἀπομιμουμένους, τό γε θεῖον ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἐρασμιωτάτης ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντων τιμιωτάτης φωνῆς διασώζοντας κάλλος. *Τῶτοι* ὁμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο παρῳδῆσαι μικρὸν ἔπεισί μοι καὶ ἴσως κατὰ καιρόν. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνονα τῷ Νέστορι φάναι ἐποίησεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐναλλάξας φημί· Εἴ μοι δέκα μόνοι Θεόδωροι ἢ δέκα Ἀνδρόνικοι γένοιντο, *ἐξαρκέσαι ἄν* οὐ τὸ Ἴλιον πολίχνιόν τι βάρβαρον ἐκπορθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ γένους πάντων γενῶν σοφωτάτου ποτὲ καὶ ἡμερωτάτου φωνὴν καὶ παιδείαν, μεθόδους τε καὶ λόγων [καὶ] ἰσχὺν, πᾶσάν τ' ἐπιστήμης ἰδέαν ναυαγήσασαν φεῦ! ἀνασώσασθαι'.[271]

Thanks at least to you it is possible to see that some remnants of this beautiful Hellas still exist and that children of the Hellenes are still imitating their fathers, and so safeguard this divine beauty of our language that for me is the most lovely and the most worthy of all. Therefore, it occurs to me to parody (and perhaps appropriately) this small piece of Homer. Homer made Agamemnon say to Nestor, and I say, mutatis mutandis: if I should only have ten Theodoroi or ten Andronikoi, that would suffice not to conquer the small and barbarian town of Ilion, but to preserve the language and the learning of the once wisest and most civilised people of all peoples, the method and power of speech, and every sort of knowledge now shipwrecked.[272]

This passage from Secundinus' letter reveals something very important about how the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy saw their own role in the diaspora. They saw themselves, or at least some among themselves, as perpetuators or even embodiments of the language and the wisdom of the ancient Hellenes.

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[271] See Secundinus, ed. Boissonade (1833) 386 with notes 2, 4 and 5. In my display of the Greek text, I relied on the text-critical remarks of Jean François Boissonade. Τῶτοι *scripsi** : Τῷ τοι *ms* : utrum delendam an mutandam? *Boissonade* | ἐξαρκέσαι ἄν *scripsi* : ἐξαρκέσαι *ms.* : ἐξαρκέσαιεν ἄν? *Boissonade* | [καὶ] ἰσχὺν *scripsi* : καὶ ἰσχὺν *ms.* : delendum καὶ ante ἰσχὺν, ni perierit nonnihil, verbi causa, ἕξιν, φορὰν· φορὰν λ. καὶ ἰσχὺν *Boissonade*.

* There is no reason to eliminate or emend τοι in 'τῷ τοι' as Boissonade suggested. Even though in classical Greek literature 'τῷ τοι' occurs only three times in Plato (see *Resp.* 409b4, *Soph.* 230b1, *Tht.* 179e1), later Byzantine authors like Choniates and Pachymeres adopted it and began to use it more often. In his *Grammatica*, Scholarios defined 'τῶτοι' (spelled this way as one word) as 'διὰ τοῦτο' ('therefore') for which see Scholarios, ed. Jugie, Petit & Siderides (1936) 491 ll. 7-8 together with the *Etym. Gudianum*, *s.v.* τῶτοι ('οἱ ποιηταὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τότε'). To avoid misunderstanding, and for reasons of historical synchrony, I adopted Scholarios' spelling.

[272] Boissonade placed everything between 'εἴ μοι' and 'φεῦ! ἀνασώσασθαι' between quotations marks. Even so, Secundinus did not really cite lines from Homer here. In fact, his words are only very loosely inspired by *Il.* 2.370-374, where Agamemnon, in response to Nestor, expresses the wish that if he 'only had ten such counselors among the Achaeans, then would the city of king Priam immediately bow its head'. Interestingly, the same Homeric passage was parodied in a similar context in a letter of Angelus Politianus to Hermolaus Barbarus. See Politianus, ed. Butler (2006) 34 (= 1.10.1).

For them, their philological pursuits also were attempts to revive Hellenism and to bridge the gap with their Hellenic ancestors. With Gaza's explanation of the decline of the Attic calendar in mind, for example, his *De mensibus* does not solely present an illustrative example of a humanist's sophisticated interest in ancient Greek chronology. It also reflects a means of reviving the 'customs and wisdom' of the Byzantines' Hellenic ancestors. The same holds true for Janus Lascaris' reconstruction of the ancient Greek characters which he set out in his dedicatory letter to the *editio princeps* of the Greek Anthology (1494), printed in the restored Greek majuscules he believed to be in their 'most ancient and truly authentic form'.[273] At the basis of Lascaris' restoration was the idea that the ancient Hellenes originally used a uniform set of characters that had however degenerated in the course of time as an increasing number of people began to adapt the letters to their own use (a process Lascaris described in terms of corruption and degeneration).[274] He believed that the original set of characters used by the pristine Hellenes could be restored through an attentive review of the ancient testimonies.[275] Just as Gaza's *De mensibus Atticis*, Lascaris' paleographical project shows that via the philological skills typical of the humanist movement in Italy Byzantine scholars could regain their lost connection with ancient Greek culture they saw as their ancestral legacy.

The Byzantines' scholarly endeavours aimed at the restoration and revival of ancient Greek culture. At the same time, the production and collection of manuscripts aimed at the reproduction and preservation of the Greek legacy. Some scribes explicitly framed their copying activity as a patriotic activity. So, for instance, Michael Souliardos stated that he copied the ancient Greek orators not for his own profit, but for the sake of his

[273] Lascaris, ed. Pontani (1992) 201 ll. 68-70 ('… ut illam potissimum formam eligerim … quae vetustissima et inprimis vera esse videretur'); cf. 200 l. 14 ('priscas litterarum figuras'). The text is available in Botfield (1861) 185-192 and with extensive discussion in Pontani (1992a). See also Alfieri (1984).

[274] Lascaris, ed. Pontani (1992) 201 l. 61 – 203 l. 113.

[275] Lascaris, ed. Pontani (1992) 200 l. 30, 201 l. 51 and l. 62, 203 ll. 109-110. Even if Greek inscriptions were known to Lascaris' contemporaries, the Byzantine scholar preferred to use literary evidence to underpin his *instauratio*, on which see Pontani (1992a) esp. 105-114. Interestingly, Pontani was able to show that Lascaris' majuscules are not the ancient characters he had possibly seen during his travels to the East, but rather a restyling of a type of majuscule already attested in epigraphic and calligraphic writing in Italy. See Pontani (1992a) esp. 117-137.

fatherland.[276] Also collecting Greek manuscripts was a means of cultural survival. While most Byzantine scholars in Italy were obviously not so affluent that they could establish large collections, cardinal Bessarion is an exception. A later generation of Byzantine scholars in Italy continued to disseminate Greek learning via the printing presses, most notably Marcus Musurus and Janus Lascaris.[277]

Bessarion's collection of Greek manuscript (donated to Venice in 1468) was inspired by patriotic motives and explicitly aimed at the preservation of the Hellenic patrimony. After the fall of Constantinople, he began collecting Greek manuscripts as well as attracting Greek scribes to copy them. The cardinal articulated the reasons for and the aims of his collection in a much-cited letter to an acquaintance (probably Michael Apostoles). According to the cardinal, his collection was an attempt to avoid the present-day Hellenes from 'remaining entirely voiceless and differing in nothing from barbarians and slaves through losing the few present monuments in addition to the many and beautiful monuments of those divine men we have already lost a long time ago'.[278] He conceived his Greek library as a fixed and safe site of collective memory for

[276] Cf. Vogel-Gardthausen (1909) 319 with reference to BAM, Cod. Ambr. 26 [A 99 sup.]: 'ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ [ἐξέγραψα] οὐ χάριν δώρων, ἀλλ'ὑπὲρ πατρίδος' *[In Florence [I copied this] not for my own profit but for the sake of my fatherland]*.

[277] See on their activities as promoters of Greek letters in the spirit of Bessarion esp. Pardos (1998).

[278] The letter was probably addressed to Michael Apostoles. See Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 479 ll. 10-21: Ἔμοὶ δ'ἔτι τῶν τε θύραθεν τῶν τε καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκάλων ἐλλείπει οὐκ ὀλίγα συγγράμματα. Ἱσταμένης μὲν οὖν τῆς κοινῆς Ἑλλήνων καὶ μόνης ἑστίας οὐκ ἐφρόντιζον, πάντα εἰδὼς ἐκεῖ ἀποκείμενα· πεσούσης δέ, φεῦ, μεγάλη τις ἐγένετο ἐπιθυμία τῆς πάντων αὐτῶν κτήσεως, οὐκ ἐμοῦ γε ἕνεκα, ὅς γε τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκα ὠφελείας ἀρκοῦντα κέκτημαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν εἴ που νῦν τέ τινες λειφθεῖεν Ἕλληνες, εἴ τέ τι εἰς ἔπειτα βέλτιον πράξαιεν – πολλὰ δ'ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ γένοιτ' ἄν (cf. Hdt. 1.32.2) –, ἔχοιεν ὅπη τὴν αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἅπασαν, τήν γε νῦν οὖσαν, ἔν τινι ὁμοῦ ἀποκειμένην ἀσφαλεῖ τόπῳ εὕροιεν καὶ εὑρόντες πολλαπλασιάσαιεν καὶ μὴ πρὸς οἷς πολλοῖς τε καὶ καλοῖς τῶν θείων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν πάλαι ἀπολωλέκαμεν ὑπομνήμασι καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα νῦν ἀπολέσαντες ἄφωνοι τὸ πάμπαν μένοιεν καὶ βαρβάρων τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲν διαφέροιεν' *[As long as the common unique centre of the Hellenes was still in existence, I was not worried, knowing that everything was stored there. After it fell, alas, an enormous desire occupied me to possess all of these manuscripts, not for my own sake as I possessed enough of them for my own use, but so that, in case some Hellenes would somewhere remain now and would fare better in the future (many things can come to pass over a long period of time), they would know where to find their entire language that now exists, remaining together at a safe place, and, after its rediscovery, they would reproduce it. Also I wanted to possess all manuscripts lest they would lose, apart from the many and beautiful writings of those divine men we have already lost a long time ago, also their few present works and so stay behind entirely voiceless and differ in nothing from barbarians and slaves]*.

the present and future Hellenes; as a site where they could find or rediscover their language and literature in order to reproduce it.[279] It is perhaps not surprising that Bessarion's letter has provoked modern scholars to refer to his collection as a 'national library'.[280] The next chapter will show how Bessarion's library project fitted in with his ideas about freedom that according to him characterised the Hellenes throughout their history. These instances show that Hellenism and Greekness, competence and ancestry, were inextricably intertwined.

The ambivalence of being Greek in Italy

The first section of this chapter showed that for Italian humanists the Byzantines were Greeks ('Graeci') and not Romans, and explained why this was so. But what did it mean for the Byzantines to be called that way? What were the advantages and disadvantages of the Greek rubric in Italy?

In order to understand Italian attitudes vis-à-vis the Byzantines, we must first of all differentiate between two different things that are not always properly distinguished. First, humanist views on the qualities of ancient Greek language and literature. Second, Italian evaluations of contemporary Greeks. While I will touch upon humanist evaluations of Greek studies in chapter 5, it is important to note here that there was no simple relationship between the humanist admiration for Greek learning and the appreciation of contemporary 'Graeci'. Italians who admired Greek learning and were themselves composers of epigrams in ancient Greek fashion, could at the same time express deep and bitter contempt for contemporary Greeks. They often repudiated the Greeks in general, but also the respected and learned Hellenes, either because of suspicions of heresy, or because of their arrogance or any other of the many vices the Italians traditionally associated with them.

At the same time, esteem for the Byzantine Greeks almost always revolved around their role in the transmission Greek learning. From the end of the fourteenth century onwards, Italian humanists became increasingly interested in the ancient Greek authors whom their Roman forebears had so often cited and praised.[281] At the invitation of the

[279] Compare Bessarion's letter to Theodore Gaza (1453/1454), where he also explained his plan to collect manuscripts. See Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 486 ll. 4-29.

[280] M. Zorzi (2002) 55 ('national library'); Irmscher (1976) 183 ('Nationalbibliothek').

[281] For an overview of how the humanist concern for Greek language and literature developed in western Europe see now Celenza (2009) with useful bibliography and concise suggestions for further reading.

Florentine chancellor Salutati, the first Byzantine professor of Greek in the west, Manuel Chrysoloras, arrived in 1397. He initiated a tradition of Byzantines teaching first in Italy and, from the second half of the fifteenth century, also north of the Alps. As representatives of ancient Greek learning, the Byzantines were generally esteemed by the Italians. Another motive for esteem was Christian philhellenism, i.e. sympathy with the Greeks because they were fellow Christians, even if they were in error.[282] But in any case, positive views of the Byzantine Greeks had nothing to do with the kind of Romantic-nationalist admiration for the nation's native or natural virtues as we find it for example in the nineteenth century.

As Hellenes, or representatives of ancient Greek learning, the Byzantines who came to Italy posed a problem to the way Italian humanists normally responded to foreign peoples with pretensions to culture and learning. The humanists' appropriation of the Roman legacy went hand in hand with a strong feeling of superiority vis-à-vis other peoples that lived outside the ancient Roman heartland. The best indication of this was the fact that the Italian humanists revived the notion of the *barbari* which they found in their ancient Roman sources applied to foreign peoples such as the Germans and Persians. However, their application of the notion of barbarism differed a great deal from ancient uses of the concept. While ancient authors had generally not addressed the *barbari* they ridiculed, Italian humanists even entered into polemics with those 'ignorant brutes [who were] supposed to understand insults in elegant Latin'.[283] By addressing French and German humanists as *barbari*, they stimulated the non-Italians to defend their cultural honour against Italian insults.[284]

Not so with the Byzantine Greeks. From their ancient sources the humanists learned who the barbarians were, but the Greeks were not among them. In his *In disciplinas et bonas artes* (1482), for example, Andreas Brentius emphasised that all barbarian peoples in the world were somehow indebted to the Latin language, an idea previously expressed by, among others, Poggius.[285] According to him, the only people perhaps comparable with the Romans were the Greeks. Just as Plato had been grateful that he was a Greek and not a barbarian, an Athenian and not from another Greek city, so Brentius' Roman

[282] For the history of philhellenism see still Pfeiffer (1968). A comprehensive modern study on the phenomenon is lacking.
[283] Hirschi (2012) 143.
[284] This aspect of the humanists' attitude towards foreigners is explained most lucidly in Hirschi (2012) 142-152.
[285] See his 'Italorum laus' in *De vera nobilitate* (Poggius, ed. Canfora 2002: 10 ll. 24-28).

listeners must rejoice in the fact that they were Italians, not barbarians, and Romans at that.[286] The Greeks held a special position among the non-Italians.

As the vehicles of Greek learning, the Byzantines were regarded as the representatives of the ancient Hellenes. This appears for the first time most articulately from the *Chrysolorina*, the unfinished literary monument in honour of Manuel Chrysoloras, projected by Guarinus Veronensis almost four decades after the Byzantines' death.[287] In a letter that was probably intended as part of this collection, Guarinus put Chrysoloras on a par with famous Greek teachers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras.[288] Similarly, Johannes Antonius Campanus praised his teacher Demetrius Chalcondylas for the fact that he 'seem[ed] to represent the illustrious and excellent wisdom, character and elegance of the ancient Greeks',[289] while Aldus Manutius claimed that he 'alone with [his] wisdom represent[ed] for us [ancient Athens]'.[290]

The examples can be multiplied. In a letter to Ludovicus Odasius, for instance, Politianus asserted about the same Chalcondylas that he 'would of course match [him] with absolutely any of the ancients'.[291] Although in these instances individual scholars are praised for their parity with the ancient Greeks, Donatus Acciaiuolus described the Byzantines scholars together as 'vestiges of ancient Greece',[292] while Vespasiano da'Bisticci famously observed that the Greeks who visited the Council of Florence in 1439 wore the same garments as the ancient Hellenes since they had not changed the style of their dress during the last fifteen hundred years or more. 'This may still be seen',

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[286] Brentius, ed. Campanelli (1995) 66-67 (§§9-14). Cf. Pade (2012) 15-16.

[287] For details on the collection see Piacente (1999).

[288] Guarinus, ed. Sabbadini (1915) 63 ll. 44-45 (= nr. 25); 64 ll. 55-59. Cf. Guarinus, ed. Sabbadini (1915) 580 ll. 11-15.

[289] In a letter of about 1450. See Campanus, ed. Menckenius (1707) 72: 'Venit graecus quidem homo ex illa, ut aiunt, recentiore Academia, qui quanta sit et graecarum et latinarum litterarum eruditione refertus, quanta etiam humanitate atque prudentia, ad te non prescriberem, nisi sperarem omnia haec ab aliis prope diem auditurum. Coepit me et quidem fideliter edocere; *cujus disciplinis ob id quam maxime delector quod Graecus, quod Atticus, quod etiam Demetrius illustrem illlam atque excellentem antiquorum Graecorum sapientiam, mores, elegantiam videtur effingere. Platonem, medius fidius, si hunc videas, magis tamen si audias, existimabis*' (italics mine).

[290] In the preface to the Aldine edition of Euripides (1503). See Manutius, ed. Legrand (1885) 81: 'Sed quoniam Athenae jamdiu nullae sunt, tecum, qui solus tua doctrina nobis illas repraesentas, hanc visum est deflere calamitatem'.

[291] Politianus, ed. Butler (2006) 313 n. 7: '…[Demetrio] communi preceptore nostro, quem quidem audacter cum quovis veterum conmiserim'.

[292] BNC, Magl. VIII 1390, fol. 89^{v}, cited after Bisaha (2004) 125 with n. 161 (cf. 124 with n. 158).

Bisticci continued, 'in Greece in a place called "the fields of Philippi", where are many records in marble in which are men clothed in the manner still used by the Greeks'.[293] We find similar observations in the diaries of Cyriac of Ancona, who travelled extensively in Greece, where he met Plethon and the young Chalkokondyles. Apart from ancient monuments and inscriptions, he also observed the 'ancient' customs of the population. When visiting the ruins of Amathea in Epirus, he noted down that some of the inhabitants of Dry had preserved ancient customs and manners of speech 'for they say that their dead, no matter what their religion was, have gone off "ἐς τὸν Ἅδην", that is, to the lower world'.[294] Such sparkles of antiquity roused the admiration of Italian humanists. The identification of the Byzantines with the ancient Greeks by the Italians had both advantages and disadvantages for the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy .[295]

In the fifteenth century, the context of interaction between Byzantines and Italians changed in significant respects. Long after Byzantium had ceased to be a political and military threat to the Latin West, after 1453 also its ideological claims to the Roman legacy did not have to be taken seriously by what was now a dominant Italian context. The Italians could afford to host only accommodating Byzantines who did not threaten their own claims to ancient Rome. The Byzantine intellectuals who had to make a living in the West had to accept that the 'real' Romans did not live in Byzantium, but in the Latin West. Not coincidentally, most if not all Byzantine intellectuals who found employment in Italy were either converts or – after the council of Ferrara-Florence – Unionists. It seems that their pro-Catholic attitude was a precondition for acquiring positions of some recognition in the West. As early as 1396 Salutati had expressed his great joy that Demetrios Kydones was not only erudite, but also orthodox (meaning Roman-Catholic). In a letter, he plainly stated that the 'bound of faith' ('nexus religionis') was more important than allegiances on account of a common fatherland ('coniunctio patriae'), mutual friendship ('coniunctio amicorum') or shared blood

[293] Bisticci, ed. Greco (1970) 19: 'Non passerò che io non dica qui una singulare loda de' Greci. E' Greci, in anni mille cinquecento o più, non hanno mai mutato abito, quello medesimo abito avevano eglino in quello tempo, ch'eglino avevano nel tempo detto, come si vede ancora in Grecia nel luogo si chiama i campi Filippi, dove sono molte storie di marmo, drentovi uomini vestiti a la greca, nel modo erano alora'.

[294] Cyriac, ed. Bodnar (2003) 322.

[295] A systematic study of the ways Italian humanists looked at the Byzantines is not available. However, an extensive study of how they were represented in Italian visual art of the period between 1438 and 1472 is the unpublished dissertation of Peter Bell.

('vinculum sanguinis securitatis').[296] As long as the Byzantines did not claim the 'Roman' label for themselves and accepted the spiritual guidance of the pope, they were no immediate ideological threat to the worldview of the Italian humanists.

All the same, tensions between Byzantine Greeks and Latins did not vanish. Notwithstanding the fact that many Italian humanists valued ancient Greek learning, they were not by definition well-disposed towards the 'Graeci' who transmitted it to them. Even though most of the Byzantine intellectuals in Italy professed faithful to the pope, suspicions of heresy lingered on. As we shall see in chapter 3, even the Greekness of a refugee as eminent as cardinal Bessarion could be instrumentalised in order to sabotage his election to the papacy. More generally, Italian humanists had a love-hate relationship with the Greeks of their own times, just as the Romans had both admired and despised their Greek contemporaries. Ancient stereotypes of Greek vices had never ceased to circulate together with more recent Christian biases against the Greeks.[297] But contexts changed.

In the fifteenth century, the immediate reason for anti-Greek sentiments among the Italian intellectuals probably was the fierce competition in which the humanists worked. When Byzantine intellectuals began to enter Italian society, they vied for the same positions as their Italian colleagues. Due to the cultural prestige of Greek, Byzantine scholars posed a threat to ambitious Italian humanists. As teachers of Greek, they were welcome, but as rivals for posts at Italian courts, schools and universities they could become a threat to the interests of Italian scholars. While some Italian humanists would admit that the Greeks knew their own literature better than the Latins, others went so far as to claim that Italians had surpassed or at least equalled the Byzantines. For example, Scipio Carteromachus admitted that the Greeks were superior in their own language, but simultaneously claimed that they were not as good in teaching Latin as the Latins were in teaching Greek.[298] Among other examples, he cited Cicero's case to illustrate that it was possible for a Latin to surpass the 'Graeca natio' through studying the precepts of its own orators.[299] In one of his Greek letters, Carteromachus' teacher Angelus Politianus boasted that he himself was 'a match for the most esteemed among

[296] Salutati, ed. Novati (1896) 108-109.

[297] An excellent overview of such stereotypes and an analysis of their application by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus is Agapiou (2007).

[298] Carteromachus (1517) fols. c4^{v}-c5^{r}. Carteromachus originally delivered his speech in praise of Greek letters in Venice in 1504 (see the *impressum* in Carteromachus 1517: fol. c6^{r}). On the humanist see still esp. Chiti (1902). For full references see Gaisser (2002) 291.

[299] Carteromachus (1517) fol. c3^{v}.

today's Hellenes'.[300] As we shall see in chapter 5, Politianus' case in particular illustrates that anti-Greek prejudice was not confined to misohellenists; admirers of Greek learning could equally fall back on anti-Greek stereotypes, which depicted the Greeks as an alien and hostile people.

That some Byzantines indeed perceived their Greekness as an impediment to their success appears from a speech of Theodore Gaza. In 1448, he openly attacked those who had vainly opposed his election as *rector* of the arts students of the university of Ferrara.[301] In his celebration address to the academic community of Ferrara, he protested that if a Greek was in competition for a position some people 'contend even against the Greek nation, as if Greeks were barbarians and alien to the Latin people rather than the ancestors, teachers and benefactors of the entire Italian nation'. Gaza also praised his Ferrarese audience because it followed in the footsteps of its ancestors (*maiores*) and considered the Greeks as 'intimately connected (*coniunctissimi*) to [itself] due to similarities of religion, customs, arts, and all other things'.[302] Gaza's speech shows that even in the realm of Greek studies Greekness could be seen to pose a serious problem of alterity. In chapter 4, we shall see how Janus Lascaris tried to counteract such anti-Greek prejudice by demonstrating that the Greeks were not alien to the Latin people with the provocative argument that Greeks and Latins could be considered to be 'idem et unum genus' at root.

Latin literature traditionally abounds in anti-Greek stereotypes, and Italian humanists could find many of them in Juvenal, Cicero and Vergil as well as in Christian

[300] Politianus, ed. Ardizzoni (1951) 41 ('τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἑλλήνων τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις ἀντιτεταγμένος').

[301] Gaza, ed. Mohler (1942c) 259-263. It must be noted that Gaza showed genuine interest for Latin and Latin science and literature. So, for instance, he translated two medical tracts by Michele Savonarola in Ferrara, and is also known as the translator of two works of Cicero into Greek (see Gaza, ed. Salanitro 1987 and *idem*, ed. Göz 1801). He remained in Ferrara until 1449, when he left it for the papal court. There, he dedicated his energies to the translation of scientific and technical texts from Greek into Latin.

[302] Gaza, ed. Mohler (1942c) 261-262 (paragraph 6): 'Nonnulli adeo contentioso, invido, perversoque animo sunt, ut si forte is, qui ad magistratum gerendum eligendus proponitur, Graecus sit, de graeca et natione contenderent, quasi Graeci barbari quidam essent et a genere Latinorum alieni, non maiores, praeceptores fautoresque totius italicae nationis. Vos recte Romanos, maiores vestros, homines humanissimos, e vestigio sequentes, graecos homines vobis coniunctissimos esse religionis, morum, artium omniumque rerum similitudine putatis'.

literature from Origen onwards.[303] Many of the stereotypes Italians launched against their Greek rivals appear together in an invective of Petrus Bravus directed against Andronicus Contoblacas, 'latini nominis impugnator'.[304] The brief text reads as a small catalogue of anti-Greek stereotypes.[305] Moreover, it shows that anti-Greek sentiment was not merely personal slander; individual Greeks were typically discredited by the vices of their group or *natio*, as Gaza signalled in the speech cited above. Contoblacas had apparently offended Latin honour (*nomen latinum*), which was particularly painful as he was a Greek. According to Bravus, the 'nature of the Greeks' (*natura Graecorum*) was predisposed to malign 'Latin princes and its masters'.[306] In his invective, he accused Contoblacas of arrogance, heterodoxy, perfidy, drunkenness, intemperance, garrulousness, loquacity, and perversity.[307] He moreover emphasised that Contoblacas' recklessness was 'inborn', as it was to all Greeks.[308] Such conversion of salient features into representative propria (known as the 'typicality effect') is a recurring strategy in the

[303] On Roman and Italian attitudes towards the Greeks and Byzantine Greeks see still Hunger (1987) esp. 18-19, 25-28 for the stereotypes used. For a convenient overview of the Roman positions with an up-to-date bibliography see now Barchiesi (2009). An overview of Roman negative stereotypes against the Greeks generally is in Petrocheilos (1974) 35-53 (he mentions *volubilitas*, *ineptia*, *arrogantia, impudentia, levitas,* deceit, and luxury).

[304] Petrus Bravus (Pietro Bravi in Italian) remains an obscure figure. Apart from being a scribe of Greek manuscripts (Gamillscheg, Harlfinger & Hunger 1981: 345, Bernardinello 1979: 20, 48, 49) and a composer of Italian verse (Maïer 1965: 426), he was also a public notary and secretary in Padua, as it appears from a document drafted by him on November 20, 1477 and published in Bottaro (2003) 187-189 (188 *fin.*) (cf. Gualdo 1979: 234 for another official document composed by Bravus).

[305] Hankins (2003) 417 assumed that Bravus' 'quidam Greculus Andronicus' was Andronicus Callistus. I believe, however, that Bravus' 'Andronicus' must be identified with Andronicus Contoblacas. According to Bravus' account, his 'Andronicus' had been incarcerated (Bravus, ed. Hankins 2003: 417, l. 19), but as far as I know Callistus did not experience imprisonment. Andronicus Contoblacas, on the other hand, mentioned his own incarceration in Brescia in his *Dialogus invectivus* (Contoblacas, ed. Monfasani 1990: 319). In the short dialogue, he also asserted that the Brescians had tortured him and left him 'semivivus' (318-319). This is largely consistent with Bravus' account that 'Andronicus' had been flogged so badly that he fell seriously ill (417, ll. 19-20). Whether or not Bravus responded to Contoblacas' *Dialogus* is difficult to know, but it seems very likely that the addressee of his invective was Contoblacas and not Callistus.

[306] Bravus, ed. Hankins (2003) 417 ll. 1-14.

[307] The Latin text is available in Hankins (2003) 417-419.

[308] Bravus, ed. Hankins (2003) 417 ll. 3-12. Note that at the end of his letter (Hankins 2003: 419 ll. 81-84), Bravus changed his attitude and emphasised that his words were not aimed at *all* Greeks but only at those *of the kind of* Andronicus.

way Italian humanists loaded their Byzantine colleagues with stereotypes.[309] The Italian humanist further substantiated his charge of perversity by playing on the etymology of his adversary's name:

> 'Scimus inconstantiam, scimus intemperantiam et ebrietatem tuam, nec nos fugit quam detestando morbo illo labores, quo et caeteri Graeci. Ἀνδρόνικος quidem tibi nomen est, a cuius nominis ethimologia tua penitus abhorret natura. Id enim (ut nosti) hominum victor latine sonat. Melius autem significantius tibi Παιδόνικος affuisset. Tu enim pueros potius quam homines uincere solitus es'.[310]

> *We know your fickleness, we know your lack of self-control and your drunkenness, and it does not escape our attention how much you suffer from this detestable disease from which all Greeks suffer equally. Indeed your name is 'Andronikos', but your nature is in complete disaccord with the etymology of that name. In Latin it means (as you know) 'victor of men'. However, a far better and more significant name for you would have been 'Paidonikos'. For you usually subdue boys rather than men.*

Competition between Italians and Byzantines peaked in the so-called *lotte*, or battles between Greek and Italian humanists.[311] One of the most famous 'battles' between Byzantine and Italian humanists is that between Argyropulus and Politianus, to which I will come back in chapter 5 (pp. 191-192). A more illustrative example is the *lotta* between George Trapezuntius and Andreas Agaso whom he believed to be Guarinus Veronensis.[312] Agaso's attack on Trapezuntius shows how Italians could fall back on Roman and Christian authorities to discredit the Greeks, even if they had to manipulate their ancient source for it. The reason for Agaso's attack on Trapezuntius is illustrative of cultural sensitivities of Italian humanists that would not evaporate together with this *lotta*.

In the fifth and last book of his magnum opus, the *Rhetoricorum libri*, George Trapezuntius had critiqued the Latin style of Guarinus Veronensis. In his choleric response, Agaso argued that it was inappropriate for an Italian to learn Latin from a Greek. Time and again he played on Trapezuntius' Greekness to stain his adversary's

[309] On the so-called 'typicality-effect' see Leerssen (2000) 283-284 and Leerssen (1997).
[310] Hankins (2003) 418 ll. 66-72.
[311] The word 'lotte' in this context was introduced by Sabbadini (1885) 81-88. According to Sabbadini, these 'battles' originated in the fact that the Italians were, and felt themselves to be, primarily *Latins*. 'This innate and common sentiment among the Italians, who were the new Latins', he claims, '(…) was soon transformed into jealousy between Latins and Greeks' (81).
[312] See on the affair Monfasani (1976) 29-32.

reputation, calling him a 'Greekling' ('Graeculus'), a typical deprecatory word.[313] Just as Petrus Bravus had done in his attack on Contoblacas, Agaso transformed a (perceived) feature of an individual Greek into a representative characteristic of the Greeks in general. When, for example, he recalled Trapezuntius' funerary oration in honour of Fantino Michiel, he took the opportunity to stress what he saw as a characteristic vice of the Greek nation ('Greca natio'), namely extreme admiration ('assentatio').[314] Unlike Bravus, Agaso moreover adduced ancient *auctores*, both pagan and Christian, in support of his negative stereotyping of the Greek. His most important authority was Cicero, whom he quoted, or rather purposefully misquoted. Agaso claimed that Cicero, like himself, would have been opposed to the Greeks and 'those who are of the kind of [Trapezuntius]'. As proof for his claim, he cited Cicero's letter to Quintus regarding social intercourse with Greeks (Cic. *QFr.* 1.1.16):

> 'Non enim ignorat quam improbis suique similibus Greculis gravis homo semper obstiteris. Meminit namque ad Q. fratrem te ita scripsisse: "atque etiam e Grecis ipsis diligenter cavende sunt familiaritates preter hominum perpaucorum, si qui sunt vetere Grecia digni. Sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam assentationem eruditi. Nimie familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt (non enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus) et vero invident non nostris solum sed etiam suis."'
>
> *And he [Trebizond] does not ignore how much you [Cicero], a dignified man, have always been against the shameless Greeks and those who are similar to himself. He remembers well that you wrote to your brother Quintus as follows: "much caution is called for with respect to friendships which may arise with certain among the Greeks themselves, apart from the very few who may be worthy of ancient Greece. Nowadays a great many of these people are false, unreliable, and schooled in overcomplaisance by long servitude. Too close intimacies with them are not trustworthy*

[313] Agaso, ed. Monfasani (1984) 365 (§2): 'Unum enim tuo vel cachinno vel stomacho dignum opus in manus incidit, cazambanicam redolens loquacitatem verius quam eloquentiam, quo cum auctor Greculus Latinis dicendi rationem aperire profiteatur (est enim De rhetorica liber inscriptus). (…) Non dicam quam absurdum sit et Latinis studiis turpissimum ab Greco Latine dicendi rationem accipere, qui vix Grece, male autem Latine sciat' *[I came across a work, worthy either of your laughter or anger, and redolent of twaddle rather than of eloquence, as in it the author, a Greekling, professes to explain to the Latins the art of speech (the book is after all entitled* De rhetorica*). (…) I cannot say how absurd it is, and most scandalous in Latin studies, to be taught the art of speaking Latin by a Greek who hardly knows Greek and speaks Latin badly]*. See also Agaso, ed. Monfasani (1984) 367 (§15).

[314] Agaso, ed. Monfasani (1984) 365 (§5). The text of the oration Agaso referred to is available in Monfasani (1984) 445-458 (with biographical notes on pp. 446-447).

(they do not dare to oppose our wishes) and they are jealous not only of us, but also of their fellow countrymen".[315]

In his tendentious quotation from Cicero's letter, Agaso omitted a crucial passage from the original text between the Latin words 'eruditi' and 'nimie', so just before Cicero's advice not to get involved in too close intimacies with Greeks. In the omitted line, Cicero said about the Greeks that his advice would be 'to admit them freely to your company in general and to form ties of hospitality and friendship with the most distinguished' ('quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio amicitiaque coniungi dico oportere').[316] This sentence is crucial to understand Cicero's ambivalent, but also mildly positive attitude towards the Greeks. Even so, Agaso manipulated his authority's testimony in the direction of outright misohellenism.

In addition to Cicero, Agaso also cited a persistent cliché from Christian antiquity as proof for the Greeks' bad character, for which Trapezuntius was representative. In particular, he attacked Trebizond's birthplace, which was not Trebizond, but the island of Crete. Agaso recalled a famous passage from Paul's letter to Titus: 'A Cretan is a liar, an evil brute, an idle belly',[317] and added that 'this is the man who shortly before dwelled for years on public expenses in Vicenza, that ancient and noble city, from which he was banned and expelled because he filled the youth with fables and other inappropriate stuff'.[318] By citing the authority of the Apostle, Agaso played on religious prejudices

[315] Agaso, ed. Monfasani (1984) 370 (§§37-38).

[316] That the adaptation is intentional can be inferred from the fact that in the *apparatus criticus* of Shackleton Bailey (Teubner, 1988), the line is not recorded as missing in one of the manuscripts examined.

[317] Paul *Tit.* 1.12: 'εἶπέν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί', which is in the Vulgate: 'dixit quidam ex illis proprius ipsorum propheta Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventres pigri'. It must be noted that in the Latin tradition (both the Vulgate and Jerome's commentary to Paul's letter as in Hieronymus, ed. Migne 1845: 571-572), the hexametrical rhythm of the original Greek is absent. In his own Latin version, Agaso restored it which forced him to change the singular into plural (which suited his purpose here) and the Vulgate's 'ventres pigri' into his own 'segnis et alvus' (with 'et' postponed: hence my adapted punctuation in n. 318). The fact that Agaso so explicitly referred to the line as an hexameter suggests in my view that he wanted to draw the reader's attention to his metrical reconstruction. To allude to it in this context was particularly useful as it showed that Agaso had recognised the metre of the Greek original and mastered the translation of Greek prosody into Latin verse.

[318] Agaso, ed. Monfasani (1984) 368 (§§19-20): 'De cuius insulae hominibus et eorum ingenio tacebo ipse, ne homini litterato conviciari videar, sed beatum Paulum audies, qui acceptum ab

towards the Byzantines Greeks in general.[319] I shall come back to Trapezuntius' response to Agaso's slander in chapter 4. For now it suffices to observe in conclusion that the *lotta* shows the sensitivity of Italian humanists to Byzantine colleagues intervening in what they saw as an affair of Latins, i.e. Latin language and literature. This kind of sensitivity was long-lived among Italian humanists. Writing more than a century after Agaso, Floridus Sabinus for instance similarly critiqued foreign writers because they had intervened in Latin letters, most of them decades before he published his defence of Latin 1540. There were many Byzantine authors among them, such as Theodore Gaza, Janus Lascaris, Johannes Argyropulus, and Michael Marullus. 'Who can stand it that a Greekling digressed into provinces that are alien to him?' Floridus Sabinus asked about Marullus,[320] and subsequently loaded him with suspicions of femininity and racist arrogance as the poet had dared to rank the Roman poets in one of his Latin epigrams.[321]

It must finally be noted that Italian animosity over Greek sentiments of cultural superiority was not entirely groundless. Byzantine intellectuals in Italy did not conceal their opinion that Greek literature was superior to Latin, and that the ancient Greeks had generally achieved more significant things than the Romans. The paradox of the Byzantines' situation was that, just at the moment that the Ottoman Turks trampled their homes and dispersed them all over Europe, they were claiming superiority over all

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vetusto poeta versum hexametrum de illis breviter explicat: "Cretensis mendax, mala bestia, segnis et alvus".' Hic est qui aliquot ante annis Vicentiam, oppidum vetus ac nobile, publico salario conductus, dum fabulis iuventutem implet et ineptiis, explosus et exibilatus est' *[I myself will be quiet about the people on this island of his (i.e. Crete) and about their intellect, so that I do not seem to slander a literate man. But listen to the blessed Paul, who put forward about them this hexametric verse (received from an ancient poet): "A Cretan is a liar, an evil brute, an idle belly". This is the man who shortly before dwelled for years on public expenses in Vicenza, that ancient and noble city, from which he was banned and expelled because he filled the youth with fables and other inappropriate stuff.]* In 1428, Trebizond had been expelled from Vicenza, and he believed that Guarinus had had a hand in the affair. See on this Monfasani (1976) 30.

[319] Agaso did not mention the name of the Greek poet, and it seems that he was not generally known in the early modern period. So, for instance, Hieronymus Donatus attributed the line to Simonides and, like Agaso, provided a metrical Latin translation (Donatus 1525: fol. Civ^{r}: '… Paulus illo Simonidis poetae Cretensis antiquissimi carmine inuectus est: Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, idest Cretensis mendax, mala bestia tardaque uentre'). Interestingly, Donatus warned his readers not to apply this line to all Cretans, but especially to the Jews who lived on the island in Paul's time.

[320] Floridus (1540) fol. 45.

[321] Floridus (1540) fols. 48, 49, 53 (Floridus repeatedly stressed the Greeks' sense of superiority over others, e.g., on fols. 95, 98). For discussions of Marullus' complex poem see Harrauer (1992) and Jansen (2009) (cf. Notter 2008: 84-85).

others. Michael Apostoles, for example, agreed that the Byzantines were nothing but 'the remnants of the Hellenes' ('τὰ λείψανα τῶν Ἑλλήνων'), a paradigmatic phrase also used by cardinal Bessarion and Nicolaus Secundinus. Yet on the other hand, he also maintained that the ancient Hellenes had invented the 'beauty of letters of philosophy itself' and that even the *remnants* of the Hellenes were superior to the Italians.[322] While Europe had Cicero and Vergil, Athens alone had been able to give birth to more philosophers than Italy could ever bring forth.[323] Moreover, even though the Italians were now in their prime, they did not teach Greek in Greece, while the Hellenes, laid low by fortune, did teach Latin in Italy. Hence, even in decline the Hellenes were superior to the Latins in their prime.[324]

Such attitudes obviously annoyed the Italians since they had their own claims to cultural superiority. Valla's preface to his *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (which I quoted in the first section of this chapter) is a very clear expression of this. Valla there argued that not the Persians nor the Greeks, but the Romans deserved the highest praise for their benefactions to humanity. They had not only established a long-lasting world-empire, but, more importantly, they had disseminated the Latin language throughout the world. In this way, the Romans had expelled barbarism and civilised.[325] According to Valla, this was a lasting achievement with which the Greeks in particular could not compete. Although they tried to make everyone speak Greek, their language was ultimately unfit for universal use because all their authors wrote in different variants of it.[326] As we shall see, Byzantines in Italy made similar claims of cultural precedence for the Greeks and themselves. Also they had not only invented civilisation, but disseminated it to the benefit of all. Although Apostoles' view may count as extreme in its anti-Italian overtones, also decidedly pro-western Byzantines such as cardinal Bessarion and Janus Lascaris maintained their sense of cultural superiority. They did not directly reply to Latin arguments for Roman superiority or Greek inferiority such as Valla's. Even so, they did point out to their Italian audience that Greek culture was older and that the Romans

[322] Apostoles, ed. Laourdas (1946) 243 ll. 10-11: 'οὐχ ὑπεκσταίητ' ἂν τοῖς Ἑώοις, τὸ κάλλος εὑροῦσι τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτήν;' For a discussion of the text see Geanakoplos (1958).
[323] Apostoles, ed. Laourdas (1946) 243 ll. 19-24. The ancient Easterners were superior to the ancient Europeans in all fields of knowledge: philosophy, historiography, oratory, poetry, theology, and grammar (p. 243 ll. 11-19).
[324] Apostoles, ed. Laourdas (1946) 243 ll. 24-35. For an English translation of the passage see Geanakoplos (1958) 160-161.
[325] Valla, ed. Garin (1952) 594-596.
[326] Valla, ed. Garin (1952) 596-598.

had generally freely borrowed from the Greeks. The implication of this was that Roman achievements were in their nature *Greek* successes. In chapter 3 and 5 we shall see that Bessarion and Janus Lascaris dealt with their notion of Greek superiority in very different ways when they faced a Latin audience. Despite the differences both of them maintained their idea of Greek superiority and sought strategies to support it.

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Being Greek in Italy was an advantage but also had its drawbacks. The advantage was that the cultural prestige of Greek shed new light on the Byzantines and revealed them as the representatives of ancient Greece, which enabled them to maintain a high degree of self-esteem. On the other hand, as Greeks they were also prone to negative stereotyping, especially in contexts of competition. For what follows it is important to realise that the ambivalent attitude of the Italians vis-à-vis the Greeks prompted Byzantines to operate carefully when they identified as and with the Greeks. As Greeks in Italy they continuously balanced between acceptance and rejection. In Italy, they had to find ways to claim cultural honour for themselves, to galvanise western powers against the Turks, to create an image of a country that had never existed before. In the case studies in the next chapters, we shall see how they negotiated to simultaneously maintain their Greek distinctiveness and to find common ground with their Italian audience, i.e. to be both recognised and respected as Greeks. Although the Hellenic rubric might suggest that they held a uniform view on what it meant to be Greek, the following case studies show that their opinions and emphases could vary as much as the way they used the ancient Greek past to present themselves and their group.

part 2

Chapter 3

The Creation of Greek Commonality

Bessarion is perhaps one of the most fascinating figures of the Byzantine diaspora; he flourished between the twilight of Byzantium and the rising stars of the Italian Renaissance. Bessarion dwelled almost all his life among the most powerful people of the Greek-speaking world and the Italian peninsula; he spent his youth in Trebizond, Constantinople and Mistra, and travelled through Europe both before and after his permanent settlement in Rome in 1439. Many ruptures pervade his biography. He was reputedly born from modest parents in Trebizond between 1399 and 1408 and died as a wealthy and powerful person in Rome in 1472.[327] He was educated by the most controversial neo-pagan thinker of Byzantium, Gemistos Plethon, yet he became a respected and most *papabile* cardinal at the Roman Curia.[328] As a cardinal in Rome he remained in touch with the Greek-speaking world, especially with Plethon in Mistra and the imperial family.[329] Besides George Trapezuntius of Crete he may count as the most prolific Greek scholar in Italy until Leo Allatius, the Chian keeper of the Vatican Library from 1661 until his death in 1669.[330] Bessarion's wide-ranging oeuvre in both Greek and Latin (professional and personal letters, poetry, political pamphlets, diplomatic and epideictic speeches, philosophical and theological treatises) provides more insight in his

[327] The idea that Bessarion stemmed from humble parents is in Apostoles, ed. Migne (1866) CXXXI.

[328] For a very useful overview of the important dates of Bessarion's biography see Zorzi (1994) 1-8. For very short introductions to his life and works see also Harris (2000d) and Rapp (2010) with select bibliographies that are largely complementary. Monograph-length studies on Bessarion's life and works are Coluccia (2009), Monfasani (2009), Lusini, Rigo & Pugliese Carratelli (2001), Fiaccadori, Cuna & Ricci (1994), Mioni (1991), Parthenios (1957), Kyros (1947), Mohler (1923-1942), Rocholl (1904), Vast (1878a, 1878b), Goethe (1871). The bibliography on Bessarion is extensive; the most recent overview is Lusini, Rigo & Pugliese Carratelli (2001) 204-227.

[329] Cf. Ronchey (2002). Bessarion's connections with the imperial family remained close also after the fall of the empire. So, for instance, in a letter to the community of Siena (1472), Bessarion wrote that it has always been his concern to look after the descendants of the Greek emperors ('principum Graeciae reliquiae'). See Mohler (1942) 564. Bessarion also advised the pedagogue of the children of Thomas Palaeologus after they had arrived in Rome; his letter to their educator (1465) is available in Mohler (1942) 531-536.

[330] An overview of Allatius' works is Jacono (1962).

views on what it meant to be a Hellene than the extant works of any other Byzantine intellectual in Italy.

This chapter attempts to do two things. First of all, it fleshes out Bessarion's Hellenism on the basis of what he himself has to say about it, especially in his *Encomium to Trebizond*, but also in his memorandum for Constantine Palaeologus. Scholars have often emphasised the fact that in Rome the cardinal retained his Byzantine Greekness in his beard and austere Basilian dress.[331] Others, on the other hand, have denied a Greek identity to Bessarion because he left the Byzantine church.[332] Yet there has been insufficient attention to what Bessarion himself had to say about his Hellenism. As we shall see, he traced his own ancestry back to ancient Athens and generally thought of the Hellenes as a noble people with a shared ancestry, heritage and character that transcended contemporary political and religious boundaries. Bessarion's sense of contiguity with the ancient Hellenes also informed his understanding of his own role vis-à-vis fellow Hellenes. Although his *Encomium* was probably written shortly before he definitively settled in Rome, it prefigures themes that resurface in later works and give the cardinal's later efforts for the Hellenes in Italy an ideological coherence that has as yet remained unnoticed in the secondary literature.

In the second place, this chapter points at the tension between Bessarion's role as a Hellene in the Greek diaspora and as a Roman cardinal in Christendom. It zooms in on the cardinal's dissimulation of Greekness in the *Orationes contra Turcas*. The *Orationes* have been cited to indicate Bessarion's passionate Greek patriotism, and it seems that even the Parisian editor of the text Guillaume Fichet interpreted them this way.[333] In an epigram he attached to the copy for Frederick III, Fichet expressed the hope that, via

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[331] Harris (2000b) 39-40. For portraits of Bessarion see Lollini (1994) and Labowsky (1994) with ample illustrations.

[332] See, for instance, Zisis (1980) 215, 218 who denied the status of 'Hellene' to the Roman cardinal in his discussion of Bessarion's epitaph (for which see p. 117 with n. 401). See the Introduction, p. 17. Along the same lines, Tomadakis claimed that if Bessarion would have succeeded in his plan to recover Greece, 'we [i.e. the contemporary Greeks] would be Greeks nor orthodox Christians' (Tomadakis 1953b: 62). More such verdicts can be cited, e.g., Kalogeras (1893), evaluating Marcus Eugenicus and Bessarion as 'politische Führer des griechischen Volkes vor dem Richterstuhl der Geschichte zur Rechenschaft gezogen'.

[333] See, for example, Coccia (1989) 226 ('Tanto lo animava la difesa della fede cristiana e la salvezza della Grecia, sua patria e patria spirituale di tutti, e dell'Europa cristiana'), Feld (1988) 28 ('[The] *Orationes*, proceeding from this premise of the central role of Greece in Christian spiritual and political life, exhorted the princes of Italy and western Europe to join together in a crusade for its reconquest'). See on the speeches in particular Meserve (2003) and Coccia (1989).

Bessarion, 'Greece may admonish [the emperor]'.[334] Yet if we look closely, the most eye-catching feature of the *Orationes* is the absence of a *Greek* Bessarion, arguing for the *Greek* case. In the second part of the chapter, I will discuss and try to explain Bessarion's dissimulation of Greekness against the background of how other Byzantines addressed the issue of Greek liberation, focussing especially on Janus Lascaris' speech to Charles V.

Ethnic roots and cultural imitation in Bessarion's Encomium to Trebizond

The date of Bessarion's *Encomium* is disputed, but it seems that it was written around the time he settled in Italy, most probably between 1436 and 1440.[335] Bessarion addressed it to the citizens ('ἄνδρας πολίτας') of the city of Trebizond.[336] As the speech revolves around the idea of freedom, one of its major aims might well have been to encourage the inhabitants of the city to maintain their independence in the face of the increasing Ottoman presence.[337] The empire of Trebizond had been cut off from the dominions ruled from Constantinople shortly before the sack of the imperial city by the Latins in 1204. During the Latin empire (1204–1264), Trebizond existed side by side with the successor states of Epirus and Thessaloniki. While Thessaloniki and Epirus together with parts of the Peloponnesus eventually became part of the restored Roman empire of the Palaeologi, Trebizond remained independent under the Comnenian dynasty until as late as 1461, when it was incorporated into the Ottoman empire. Although the Comneni released their claim to the throne of Constantinople probably at the end of the thirteenth century, they clung to the title 'emperor and *autokrator* of all the East, the Iberians, and the Transmarine Provinces'.[338] Despite the imperial

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[334] 'Quos citat in Turchos acri Bessario cornu, | Caesar et audentes sumite tela viri. | Graecia vos moneat dyro prostrata tyranno, | Excitet et Christi iam prope lapsa fides' *[You whom Bessarion rouses with his sharp horn against the Turks, you, Caesar and all those men who dare, take up arms! May Greece, overthrown by a harsh tyrant, admonish you, and may Christ's faith, now close to falling into decay, rouse you into arms]*. Cited in Legrand (1885) 260.

[335] The dating of the work is disputed; its composition most probably falls between 1436 (Lampsides 1955) and 1440 (Akışık forthcoming). See on Bessarion's eulogy in particular the series of articles by Lampsides (Lampsides 1984a, 1984b, 1982a, 1982b, 1970, 1955, 1935). On Bessarion's usage of Libanios in the speech see Fatouros (1999) 198-204. The only more contextualising study of the text is Akışık (forthcoming). When I was writing this chapter, I was not aware of Akışık's fine work on this text, and it is supportive to find in it some general correspondences with my own argument.

[336] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 194 ll. 25-26 = Lampsides (1984a) 72 ll. 3-4.

[337] Lampsides (1984a) 9.

[338] Miller (1926) 29.

pretensions of its ruling house, however, Bessarion placed his native city in civic Greek rather than imperial Roman history, called its inhabitants Hellenes instead of Romans, and dissociated Trapezuntine history from both Rome and Constantinople. For this, the city's link with the ancient Greek past was crucial, and Bessarion went out of his way to prove that the city was an authentic *Hellenic* city.

Bessarion constructed a sense of contiguity with the remote past in two different but intertwined ways. He emphasised, first, that the contemporary Hellenes were ethnically related to the ancient Greeks and, secondly, that they had preserved original features through imitation or 'μίμησις' of their ancestors. Along these lines, he argued that the Trapezuntines descended from the Athenians. Echoing Pericles' *Funeral Oration* (Thuc. 2.41.1), he made the city boast that 'the Attic city of the Athenians is [Trebizond's] first beginning and metropolis, Athens, the rearer of the Greeks, the mother of literature, the teacher of this most beautiful language'.[339] In addition, Bessarion made the point that the Trapezuntines had carefully conserved Athenian Hellenism even among the barbarians of Asia.

To prove his first claim, Bessarion relied on the traditional link of the Ionians with Athenians, marking them off from the Dorian Greeks.[340] He found Greek historiography on his side to show that there existed a connection of kinship between the Trapezuntines and the Athenians. He argued that Trebizond was a colony of Sinope, which was a colony of Miletus, which was a colony of Athens. Maybe he scraped together bits of evidence for this argument from several ancient Greek authorities: Herodotus claimed that Miletus was founded by the son of the Attic king Codrus; Xenophon noted that Miletus established Sinope; and Eusebius finally remarked that the Sinopeans colonised Trebizond three years before the founding of Rome in 756

[339] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 150 ll. 4-11 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 24 ll. 7-14: 'Αὕτη [i.e. Τραπεζοῦς] πρώτην τοῦ γένους ἀρχὴν καὶ μητρόπολιν, εἰ δεῖ τὰ πρεσβύτερα πρότερα λέγειν, ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αὐχεῖ πόλιν, τὴν τροφὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὴν μητέρα τῶν λόγων, τῆς καλλίστης ταύτης φωνῆς τὴν διδάσκαλον. Ἀπῴκισαν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν Σινωπεῖς, τοὺς δ' αὖ, οἰκισθέντες ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, Μιλήσιοι, τὰ κράτιστα τῆς Ἀσίας, τὸ πρόσχημα τῶν Ἰώνων, οἱ τῆς παραλίου ταύτης Ἑλλάδος ἡγούμενοι, οὐκ ἄλκιμοι μόνον γεγενημένοι πάλαί ποτε, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς ὅσης ἄν εἴποις' *[If it is necessary to name the oldest things first, this city [Trebizond] boasts that the Attic city of the Athenians is her first beginning and metropolis, the rearer of the Greeks, the mother of literature, the teacher of this most beautiful language. The people of Sinope colonised it, whom the Milesians, colonised by the Athenians, had in turn colonised – the Milesians, the ornament of the Ionians, those who led this Hellas by the sea and did not only become powerful long ago, but, as they say, as extravagantly as you can say]*.

[340] Powell (1988) 10, 44.

BC.[341] These testimonies ultimately converge in Bessarion's claim that Trebizond was connected with Athens via Sinope and Miletus.

An illustrious founding myth would be meaningless for the present without a form of continuity with the past that goes beyond shared origins. In order to demonstrate the continuity between Athens and Trebizond, Bessarion more than once stressed that the inhabitants of the Euxine city, in the same way as their ancestors, carefully preserved the culture of their ancestors. In this, opposition to the barbarians and the defence of freedom were crucial. Although these themes are obviously familiar from classical Greek literature, Bessarion worked them out in his own way.[342] Even though both the Sinopeans and the Trapezuntines lived among the barbarians in Asia, they ignored them and even ridiculed those who feared them.[343] According to Bessarion, the Hellenic nature of the Trapezuntines and their ancestors most clearly appeared from their continuous resistance to barbarian tyranny and their assiduous propagation of freedom. In his appraisal of the Milesians in particular, he highlighted their defence of liberty, alluding to the Ionian Revolt (499 BC),[344] and praising the Milesians' courage ('ἀνδρεία'), magnificence ('μεγαλοπρεπεία') together with their prudence and wisdom ('φρόνησις καὶ σοφία'), for which he called their city 'worthy of Athens'.[345] Via the Milesian colony Sinope, Bessarion argued, Trebizond had taken over the 'Hellenic spirit' of Athens, and perfected it.[346] After his description of the landscape of his native city, and the hilly uplands protecting it by way of natural defence, Bessarion claimed that in the city 'the Hellenic people lived alone among the barbarians, while they continued

[341] See Hdt. 9.97; Xen. *An.* 6.1.15 (cf. Strabo 12.3.11); Eus. *Chron.* 1.80e Schoene. It must be noted that for all towns different foundation myths circulated. Note also that Michael Psellos also voiced the idea that Trebizond was a Hellenic city, on which see Lampsides (1984a) 18 n. 1.

[342] On the evolution of the concept of freedom in ancient Greek literature see in particular the classic study of Raaflaub (2004), which is a revised English edition of Raaflaub (1984).

[343] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 155 l. 4-5 ('…Ἕλληνες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πεμφθέντες, Λυδῶν οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι…'), 168 l. 12 ('… οὐδὲν δ' ἐπιστρεφομένους αὐτῶν [sc. βαρβάρων]…'), 170 ll. 1-13 ('…ταῦτ' οὖν παρ' οὐδὲν ἔπειθον τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ὠμότητα τίθεσθαι καὶ διαπτύειν τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ δεδιττομένων καταγελᾶν…') = ed. Lampsides (1984) 29 ll. 11-12, 42 ll. 21-22, 44 ll. 12-24.

[344] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 151 ll. 11-16 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 25 ll 16-18: '"Ἕλληνες δὲ μόνοι καὶ μάλιστα Ἴωνες καὶ τούτων αὖθις τὰ κράτιστα, Μίλητος ἀπρίξ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντείχοντο καὶ οὐδὲν ὅπερ οὐκ ἄσμενοι ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἠροῦντο' *[Only the Hellenes and especially the Ionians and the flower of them, Miletus, tightly clung to freedom, and they would eagerly do anything to support it].*

[345] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 152 ll. 13-24 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 26 ll. 19-29. Cf. Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 153 ll. 22 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 27 l. 31, where Bessarion stressed that Miletus was in no way inferior to Athens ('οὖσα καὶ σφόδρα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπαξία').

[346] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 155 ll. 22-29 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 29 l. 30-30 l. 5.

to use the language of the Hellenes, honoured freedom, and sought after equality of rights ('ἰσονομία')'.[347] At a time when the numerically superior Persians subdued all surrounding peoples in Asia, the Trapezuntine Hellenes remained upright. The best synopsis of the idea is in the following key passage from the eulogy:

> Ἄρτι γοῦν συνῳκισμένοι καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς τόν τε ἀριθμὸν ὄντες οὐ πάνυ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀσθενεῖς, ὅμως εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔδειξαν Ἕλληνες ὄντες, γένος ἀδέσποτον καὶ ἀδούλωτον καὶ μόνον ἐλεύθερον τήν τε ψυχὴν τά τε σώματα, Σινωπεῖς τε καὶ Μιλησίους καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Ἀθηναίους τοὺς σφῶν πατέρας μιμούμενοι, τοὺς μὲν οἵας ἴσμεν ἀποκρίσεις ἐπιόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκεκριμένους ἔργα τε διὰ πάντων ἐπιδειξαμένους τίνος οὐκ ἄξια, τοὺς δ' ἐν μέσοις μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκοῦντας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐπιστρεφομένους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὅσον ἐξῆν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπόταις ἀνταίροντας καὶ μετέχοντας ἰσοπολιτείας αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲν οὐ τοῦ φρονήματος, οὐ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφεῖσαν ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ γενναίου, οὐδ' ἀνάξιον οὐδὲν τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐπεδείξαντο δόξης, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐ γῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐκπεμφθέντες ἀρετῆς κληρονόμοι πρὸς αὐτούς τε διεπράττοντο πᾶν ἀναφέροντες κἀκείνους. καὶ τύπον ποιούμενοι καὶ παράδειγμα διεγίγνοντο φύσει τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄντες πολέμιοι καὶ ἀσύμβατοι καὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν ὅροις φωνῇ τε καὶ ψυχῇ διιστάμενοι καὶ κοινὸν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες.'[348]
>
> *Although they had only recently been living together with them [the barbarians], probably being not with very many in number, and also weak in power, they still showed immediately from the start that they were Hellenes, a people without master, unenslaved, and uniquely free both spiritually and physically; they imitated their forebears, the Sinopeans, the Milesians, and earlier still the Athenians. We know what answers they [i.e. the Athenians] gave when the barbarians attacked them and that they continuously exhibited invaluable works. Of the others [i.e. the Milesians and Sinopeans] we know that they lived among the very barbarians and neglected them. They on the contrary acted against the despots of the inhabited world in defence of freedom as far as possible and participated in the equality of rights common to them. They did not dismiss a bit of their dignified and noble character, nor did they exhibit anything unworthy of their ancestors and Hellenic honour. Instead, as if they had been sent out on their expedition as shareholders, not of their land, but rather of their virtue, they continued to refer to themselves and their ancestors as a standard in every respect. And setting themselves an example and model, they continued to be the natural enemies of the barbarians and irreconcilable with them, greatly differing in language and mind, and generally having nothing in common with them.*

This passage shows in a nutshell that for Bessarion the history of the Trapezuntines was inextricably part of the Herodotean struggle between Hellenism and barbarism. Genealogical lineage and the imitation of illustrious ancestors in pursuit of freedom

[347] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 167 ll. 35-36 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 42 ll. 9-11.
[348] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 168 ll. 4-21 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 42 ll. 14-30.

together constituted the basic ingredients for his view on Hellenism here. In their insulated city, the Trapezuntines perpetuated the spirit of their Athenian ancestors through their continuous resistance to barbarian despots and their defence of Greek freedom, an ideological tenet of the classical Greek city-state rather than the Roman empire.

Whereas the barbarian Persians never subdued Greece, the Romans did incorporate the Greek state into their world-wide empire. This obviously posed a problem to Bessarion's narrative of resistance to foreign rule and preservation of freedom, which was at the heart of his idea of what it meant to be Greek. It is important to realise that – unlike Manuel Chrysoloras – Bessarion was not interested in claiming a Roman legacy for the Hellenes. Just as Theodore Gaza and Constantine Lascaris, he rather saw the advent of the Romans as a foreign intrusion in Greek affairs. Unlike them, however, Bessarion did not recognise the undesirable impact of Romanisation on the language or customs of the Trapezuntines. For him, the Roman episode on the contrary provided the background for another tale of how the Hellenes had defended and maintained their 'ἐλευθερία', this time even under foreign occupation.

In Bessarion's account of Greek history, the Romans first appeared with the Asian campaigns of Marius and Sulla and Pompey's definitive defeat of Mithridates VI of Pontus. According to him, Mithridates' defeat in 63 BC was welcomed by the Trapezuntines as their 'day of freedom' ('ἐλευθερίας ἡμέρα') so that the city willingly 'handed over herself and her own nurslings to the Romans'.[349] Everything considered, Bessarion saw the arrival of the Romans and their rule as a positive development for the region,[350] and we must not confound the Roman defeat of the Pontic kingdom with the complete subjugation of the Hellenes. Bessarion represented the Romans as an amicable people; they were philhellenes and knew the Greek language like no one else.[351]

[349] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 174 l. 33 – 174 l. 175 l. 3 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 49 ll. 19-24: Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἄσμενός τε ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐπίδοξον εἶχεν ἐλευθερίας εἶδεν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοῖς οἰκουμένης δεσπόταις εὐθὺς προσχωρήσασα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῇ κείνων ἡγεμονίᾳ ἑαυτήν τε καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους τροφίμους ἐνέδωκε φέρουσα…' *[Therefore, our city finally saw the day of liberty which she had long anticipated and, after siding with the Romans, the rulers of the inhabited world, and presenting herself and her own nurslings to them, she handed these over to their authority …]*

[350] Bessarion, ed. Lampsides (1984) 49-50 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 175-176.

[351] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 175-176 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 50. This also reminds one of Michael Apostoles who divided the world in Hellenes, Romans and those who respected their rule on the one hand, and a bunch of resistant peoples (among others the Germans and the Gauls) on the other (the "Ελληνικὸν γένος' versus the 'βάρβαρον γένος' in Apostoles' words). See Apostoles, ed. Migne (1866) CXXIX.

'Therefore', he concluded in Horatian fashion, 'the Hellenes ruled the Romans rather than being ruled by them, and for that reason they held the privileged position of a body of allies'.[352]

In Bessarion's account, the Hellenic tradition, instigated by classical Athens, and carefully preserved in Trebizond, was pivotal to maintaining Roman power in Asia. When Rome fought out the Lazic War with Chosroes I (r. 531–579), only the combined forces of the Romans and Bessarion's ancestors ('ἡμετέρων πατέρων') were capable of resisting the Sassanid armies.[353] When the Romans were seriously threatened by the barbarians, 'only our city … guarded [their] power' ('μόνη δὲ ἡ ἡμετέρα … ἐτήρει τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν').[354] While other parts of Anatolia, Egypt, and Persia conceded to barbarian invaders, the Hellenic city of Trebizond remained faithful to Roman rule. Apparently this fuelled Bessarion's Trapezuntine chauvinism since he added that while Byzantion made an agreement with the barbarians and so accepted slavery ('δουλεία'), Trebizond on the contrary continued its Hellenic resistance against barbarian mastery.[355]

The Romans continued to rule Trebizond until in Bessarion's own day. He noted in passing that at the time of writing the Romans had ruled Trebizond uninterruptedly for 1,500 years.[356] For Bessarion, the Comnenian dynasty was a Roman dynasty appointed

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[352] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 176 ll. 10-11 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 50 ll. 33-34: 'Οὕτως ἦγον Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον τοὺς ἄγοντας ἢ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤγοντο, καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς συμμαχίας'. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.156-157: 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis | intulit agresti Latio'.

[353] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 178 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 52-53. Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 178 ll. 16-21 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 52 ll. 6-10: 'Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον δυνηθεὶς ὅτι μὴ Πέτραν ἑλεῖν … εἶτα μετὰ πολλῆς ἐκεῖθεν ζημίας, πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποβαλόμενος τῶν Περσῶν, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντικρουσάντων πατέρων καὶ τὴν σφοδρὰν αὐτῶν ῥύμην (Lambros reads ρώμην) ἐπισχόντων σφοδρότερον' *[And capable of doing nothing more except for taking Petra … he [Chosroes I] was expelled from there with great loss since he lost many good Persians, while the Romans and our ancestors had offered resistance and so restrained their excessive force with great zeal].* Probably, Bessarion referred to the Roman victory of 542.

[354] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 180 ll. 14-31 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 55 ll. 9-26.

[355] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 177 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 51-52. Maybe Bessarion here refers to the agreement of John VIII with Murad II after his return to Constantinople. On the basis of this passage Akışık (forthcoming) suggested that the eulogy had been composed in 1439–1440. Anti-Constantinopolitan sentiment is probably also behind the fact that Bessarion in his *Encomium* generally glossed over the history of Byzantion, omitting references to the transferral of empire by Constantine I. See Bessarion, ed. Lampsides (1984) 51 l. 16-17 ('μεταβάσης τῆς βασιλείας ἐς τὸ Βύζαντιον καὶ τὴν ἑῴαν ἀπόμοιραν').

[356] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 176 ll. 18-19 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 51 ll. 7-8: 'Ἐνιαυτοὶ γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις παρῳχήκεσαν χίλιοι Ῥωμαίοις ὑποταγείσης…'. On the basis of this line Lampsides (1955) argued that the eulogy must have been written in 1436–1437.

by God to rule the Trapezuntines after the battle of Manzikert (1071).[357] It is notable that Bessarion nowhere explicitly claimed the *imperium romanum* as such for the Hellenes. For him, it seems, the Hellenes did not *possess* the empire in the same way western sources and other Byzantines such as George Trapezuntius and Johannes Gemistus perceived of it. Some of them lived in an empire ruled by Romans and supported it, but as a people they were not in full control of the *imperium romanum*. In this sense, his representation of the Hellenes vis-à-vis their Roman government comes close to what modern sociologists have called state-framed ethnicity, or a sense of group-belonging embedded within existing political structures without resisting these for the sake of attaining political independence (as is the case in counter-state ethnicity).[358]

Panhellenism and cultural ownership in Bessarion's Letter to Constantine

Bessarion's Hellenism was not only a means of differentiating Trebizond among all the other Greek cities. The way he presented the Hellenes in the speech is emblematic for his belief that Hellenism could survive in different settings and contexts, even among barbarians. As the Hellenes were an imagined community of people sharing a common origin, a history and a distinctive culture of freedom, they typically transcended local, political or religious boundaries. Bessarion's letter to despot Constantine illustrates this very well. He sent it to the despot of the Morea from his new home in Rome in 1444, so between four and eight years after he had composed the *Encomium*.[359] In it, Bessarion followed in the footsteps of Plethon and advised the despot of the Morea about affairs in the Peloponnesus,[360] mostly rephrasing and restating his teacher's previous

[357] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 182-183 (ll. 9-10 cited here: 'Ἀλλὰ θεὸς … τούς τε Κομνηνιάδας ἡμῖν ἐβασίλευσε …') = ed. Lampsides (1984) 56-58 (with ll. 3-5). Cf. Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 184 ll. 2-3 = Lampsides (1984) 59 ll. 1-2. In a letter to Bessarion written after 1461, his compatriot George Amiroutzes (who lived in the service of the Sultan after the sack of Trebizond) described the last Trapezuntine emperor David Megas Comnenus as 'the king of Hellenes and Romans' ('Ελλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων … βασιλεύς'), so acknowledging that the empire of Trebizond was not an exclusively Roman, but also an Hellenic empire. See Amiroutzes, ed. Migne (1866) 724.

[358] See on this Brubaker (2004) 145, 282.

[359] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1930) 32-45. The letter has mainly been discussed from the point of view of political history. For discussions of it see esp. Harris (2006) 92-93, Maltezou (2006) 101-104, Pardos (1998) 546-558, Mavrommatis (1994), Zakythinos (1975) 356-358.

[360] The letter is available in Mohler (1942) 439-449 and Lambros (1906) 32-45. In his edition of the text, Lambros argued that Bessarion's address must be written between 1443 and 1446. Cf. Mohler (1942) 440. Interpretations of the letter are Harris (2006), Maltezou (2006), Pardos

admonitions.[361] Although he considered himself to be an Atheno-Trapezuntine, he identified with the Peloponnesian subjects of the Palaeologan despot on account of their being Hellenes. So, he referred to the state of the Peloponnesus as 'our affairs'[362] and regretted the Ottoman Turks ruling over 'us, barbarians over Hellenes'.[363]

Importantly, Bessarion explicitly defined the Hellenes as a distinctive *genos* with a particular character; they were mild by nature, able to attain virtue, to imitate the good, naturally noble and ambitious, and eager to acquire all forms of learning.[364] He also praised them for their unremitting love for freedom.[365] The despot now ruled over the same people who had once defeated the Persians at Plataea, and had marched into Asia with Agesilaus.[366] The general idea of the memorandum was that together with an army of well-trained Peloponnesians the despot would eventually liberate Europe and after that would march against Asia with his new Spartans to claim back the power ('ἀρχή') that belonged to him by right of inheritance.[367] In other words, the Spartans fulfilled the same function as the Trapezuntines serving under the Comneni, namely to maintain Hellenic freedom, while at the same time supporting an amicable Roman power. That Bessarion indeed saw the Palaeologi as a Roman dynasty just as the Comneni appears

(1998), Mavrommatis (1994), Irmscher (1976), Zakythinos (1975) 2:356-358. That Bessarion knew the Peloponnesus well not only appears from his letter to Constantine Palaeologus, but also from a Latin letter he wrote to frater Jacobus Picens in order to convince the addressee of an anti-Ottoman campaign in support of the despot Thomas Palaeologus (1459). See Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 490-493 (= ed. Lambros 1906: 31-34). See also his letter to Demetrius Palaeologus, despot of the Morea, in Mohler (1942b) 425-426.

[361] For a comparative reading of Plethon's and Bessarion's treatises see still Dräseke (1911) esp. 111-115.

[362] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906) 24.

[363] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906) 20 ll. 11-13.

[364] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906), 22 ll. 25-27: '"Ημερον τὴν φύσιν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ γένος, ἐπιμελητικὸν ἀρετῆς, μιμητικὸν τοῦ καλοῦ, φύσει γενναῖόν τε καὶ φιλότιμον, πρὸς πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἕτοιμόν τε καὶ πρόχειρον'.

[365] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 151 ll. 11-16; 168 ll. 4-9.

[366] He also mentioned Xanthippus (against the Romans), Gylippus (against the Athenians), Brasidas (against the Chalkidians), Agesilaus (against the Egyptians), Lysander and his successor Callicratidas (against the Persians). Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 443 ll. 2-16 (= ed. Lambros (1906) 19 ll. 6-23).

[367] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 443 ll. 14-16 (= ed. Lambros 1906: 19 ll. 20-23): 'Τούτου γεγενημένου ἄλλος Ἀγεσίλαος νέος μετὰ τῶν νέων Λακεδαιμονίων, οὓς αὐτὸς ἀναπλάσεις, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβήσῃ, τὴν πατρικὴν ἀπολῃψόμενος πᾶσαν ἀρχήν'.

from the fact that in one of his manuscripts he traced their dynasty *linea recta* back to Romulus.[368]

Considering all this, it becomes clear that Bessarion's imaginary community of Hellenes was largely independent of dynastic or territorial boundaries. His sense of Panhellenism becomes evident in several other corners of his oeuvre as well. So, for example, in his *Encyclica ad Graecos* (1463) he claimed that as a young boy he was known 'by all who understood Greek' and that he was estimated even by those who did not know him, so suggesting a community of language transcending personal relations.[369] In an address to the Venetian Doge he referred to '*reliqua Graecia* that is now subject to your imperium'.[370] This shows that 'Graecia' embraced more than the territories inhabited by the Greek-speaking subjects of a Roman emperor, either Comnenian, or Palaeologan. The Hellenes, ruled by Palaeologi, Comneni, Venetians, or Ottoman Turks, living either in Europe or in Asia, together constitute a distinctive imaginary community sharing a particular character, a language, and probably also a certain lineage going back to the ancient Greek world.

As there were no official forms of Hellenism, we find a notable flexibility in the ways Bessarion saw the particularities of the Greek tradition in which he placed himself and his people. For example, in a letter to the despot of the Morea, Demetrius Palaeologus, dating from his stay in Mistra between ca. 1425 and 1433, he claimed that the Peloponnesian peninsula was superior to Constantinople in many respects, referring to the Peloponnesians in the first person plural.[371] In his memorandum to Constantine Palaeologus, he cited Sparta as surpassing all other parts of Hellas in 'εὐνομία' and 'δόξη' because of its strict regulation of conspicuous consumption.[372] Shortly after the fall of Constantinople, however, he made the eastern Roman capital above all other cities the centre of the Greek world, complaining that 'the capital of entire Greece, the splendour and ornament of the Orient, the college of the best arts, the reservoir of all good things, is taken, pillaged, plundered, ruined by the most inhuman barbarians, by the most

[368] The autographic list (running from Romulus and Remus until Michael IX Palaeologus) is in BNM, Marc. gr. 407 and printed in Schreiner (2008) 418-424.
[369] Bessarion, ed. Migne (1866) 461, 486. On the letter see Mohler (1923) 240-242.
[370] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 476 ll. 29-30: '… reliqua Graecia, quae nunc imperio vestro subjecta est'.
[371] For the Greek text of the letter see Mohler (1942b) 425-426 (esp. p. 426 ll. 17-35).
[372] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942b) 444-445 (esp. ll. 15-20) (= ed. Lambros 1906: 21-22, esp. ll. 12-17).

ardent enemies of the Christian faith, by the most savage beasts'.[373] Changing circumstances apparently determined the differing accents and nuances in Bessarion's representation of Hellenism. Even so, such differences in emphasis did not encroach upon the unity of Bessarion's imaginary community of Hellenes.

Importantly, for Bessarion the Hellenes as a group not only shared a common descent and character, but also a claim to a literary heritage. Also in this respect, Bessarion's letter to Constantine Palaeologus is an important document. In his advice to the despot, he emphasised the importance of training: military, technical, and theoretical. In what is a blend of prophecy, eulogy, and advice Bessarion claimed that the despot 'will return to our people the possession of literature ('τὸ χρῆμα τῶν λόγων')', the only thing that distinguishes men from beasts, and Hellenes from barbarians, and 'in which our people once flourished and from which all knowledge, understanding and art came forth and blossomed'.[374] To achieve this, Bessarion proposed to send Hellenic boys ('οἱ ἡμέτεροι νέοι') to Italy in order to study and to take back home with them the required expertise to repair the Peloponnesus.[375]

These lines are important to understand Bessarion's views on the state of Hellenism in relation to western progress. In anticipation of his critics, the cardinal asserted that it was not shameful for a Greek to learn from a Latin. 'We will not take something alien', he argued, 'but we will take back from our debtors the things that belong to us: if someone demands to have it returned, they are obliged to give back what they did not justly *took back*, but *took away*' ('ἃ μὴ ἀπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἔλαβον').[376] Therefore, he could refer to 'our wisdom' ('ἡ ἡμετέρα σοφία'), not only when referring to literature and theoretical knowledge, but also to practical skills such as shipbuilding. In his letter, Bessarion in fact inverted the western scheme of the *translatio studii*, or the idea that cultural leadership was transferred from one people to the other through history,

[373] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 475 ll. 24-29: 'Urbs … totius Graeciae caput, splendor et decus orientis, gymnasium optimarum artium, bonorum omnium receptaculum, ab immanissimis barbaris, a saevissimis christianae fidei hostibus, a truculentissimis feris capta, spoliata, direpta, exhausta est'.

[374] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906) 24 ll. 17-30: 'τὸ χρῆμα τῶν λόγων, ᾧ μόνος τῶν θηρίων ἄνθρωπος διαφέρει καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἕλληνες διακρίνονται, ἐν οἷς ποτε τὸ ἡμέτερον ἤκμακε γένος κἀξ ὧν πᾶσα ἐπιστήμη καὶ γνῶσις καὶ τέχνη ἐβλάστησέ τε καὶ ἤνθησεν, ἀποδώσεις αὖθις τῷ γένει…'.

[375] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906) 25 ll. 3-20.

[376] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906), 25 ll. 17-20: Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔδὲ ἀλλότριον τι ληψόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὑτῶν παρὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων ἀποληψόμεθα· ὀφείλουσι γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ ἀπαιτοῦντος ἀποδοῦναι ἃ μὴ ἀπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἔλαβον.

normally progressively westwards and ideally together with political power, but not necessarily so. Unlike Apostoles, who aggressively asserted Greek cultural superiority over the West (see chapter 2, pp. 91-92), Bessarion framed the relation between Hellenism and the Latin West in terms of solving debts. A similar idea was later instrumentalised by Bessarion's protégé Janus Lascaris, as we shall see in the penultimate section of this chapter and in our discussion of his *Florentine Oration* in chapter 5.

Bessarion's idea of Hellenic freedom under Romans and Turks in his Encomium *and* Encyclica

As we have seen, Bessarion's Hellenism was inextricably bound up with the idea of freedom; both in his Trapezuntine eulogy and in his letter to the despot of the Morea the word 'ἐλευθερία' is ever-present. For Bessarion, freedom was a complex category. In classical Greek fashion it was categorically opposed to slavery ('δουλεία', 'δουλεύειν') in the metaphorical sense of being dominated by someone or something perceived as foreign or external. But Bessarion added to this dichotomy between freedom and slavery a differentiation of the concept of freedom itself that he derived from the Christian rather than the classical tradition. When he discussed the incorporation of Trebizond in the Roman empire, he distinguished between two kinds of freedom, namely freedom of thought or mind ('γνώμη', 'ψυχή') and freedom of body ('σῶμα'). According to Bessarion, the former was more important than the latter because it could exist independently, while physical liberty crumbled without the freedom of thought.[377] Bessarion's idea of physical freedom referred to political self-government ('ὄντως πολιτεύειν' and 'τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς διοικεῖν'). In the context of his discourse, it did not so much refer to the absence of internal tyranny as to the exemption from external political and military domination, especially Persian intervention.

Bessarion's idea of spiritual freedom is, on the other hand, less clear-cut, but seems to refer to the maintenance of the independence of one's way of thinking even if one is not free in terms of political action. As such it is connected to the preservation of language and customs and so to identity in the most literal sense of sameness over time in respects that are considered to be essential or constitutive. In Bessarion's discourse, the distinction between these two kinds of freedom is useful to demonstrate that the Trapezuntines had never really lost an essential form of freedom after their absorption

[377] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 72 = ed. Lampsides (1984a) 46-47.

into foreign Roman political structures. As we have seen, in Bessarion's eyes, the Romans were a friendly people who admired Greek language and literature so that they allowed the Trapezuntines to preserve their freedom of thought even if they had politically subdued them. In this way, they remained essentially unsubdued and without master ('ἀδούλωτοι', 'ἀδέσποτοι') even under Roman rule. When the Roman regime changed, and the capital of the empire was eventually transferred to Byzantion, Trebizond remained the same ('ἡ αὐτή') after all.[378]

Bessarion's treatment of ancient urban freedom in the context of the Roman empire interestingly contrasts with the way in which contemporary Italians addressed a similar problem, most notably the Florentine humanist Leonardus Brunus, whom Bessarion probably met in Florence in 1439.[379] In order to understand Bessarion's differentiated view of Hellenic freedom in the *Encomium*, it may be helpful to touch briefly on how it relates to Brunus' discussion of ancient Florentine freedom and the Roman empire.[380] For both Brunus and Bessarion, the emergence of imperial Rome sat uneasily with their emphasis on the pre-Roman freedom of their respective cities. Brunus emphasised that the Roman empire had ended urban independence in Etruria. Unlike Bessarion, he saw the emergence of the Roman empire not only as the end of political freedom. According to Brunus, original Florentine *virtus* had also declined due to leisure and inaction under the Roman emperors. His distinctively negative interpretation of the Roman empire obviously suited his republican agenda in which imperial Rome stood for a misguided form of government. Brunus' view on imperial Rome became very influential and resurfaced, for example, in the work of Machiavelli.[381]

Brunus' juxtaposition of Florentine liberty and imperial Rome sharply contrasts with Bessarion's treatment of Hellenic freedom. In Bessarion's account, freedom continued to exist in Trebizond also after his city had been incorporated in the same Roman empire that Brunus saw as the end of Florentine liberty and *virtus*. Against the

[378] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 176 ll. 29-34 = Lampsides (1984a) 51 ll. 17-22 ('ἡ ἡμετέρα δ' ἐν πᾶσί τε τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ παντοίαις μεταβολαῖς ἡ αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μένει…').

[379] On the occasion of the Council of Florence Brunus wrote a *Polity of the Florentine* in Greek. The best manuscript of this treatise was owned by Plethon and shows his annotations. For the text of the treatise and an introduction see Moulakis (1986).

[380] Brunus discussed Florentine freedom most notably in his famous *Laudatio Florentinae urbis*, his history of the Florentine people and in his funeral oration for Nanni Strozzi, but the topic resurfaces throughout his oeuvre. An overview of Brunus' views on freedom is in Baron (1955) 358-364. For a critical assessment of Baron in general see particularly Hankins (1995).

[381] Baron (1955) 368-371.

background of Brunus' position, it is possible to see Bessarion's differentiated view on Hellenic freedom as the result of an ideological tension that he had to solve in his *Encomium*. On the one hand, he praised Hellenic freedom of foreign rule and influence. On the other, he worked in a Roman context, the Comnenian empire of Trebizond. As Bessarion did not shape a republican ideology, he had to find a way to praise the persistent freedom of the Hellenes without denying the dignity of the Roman monarchy of which his profoundly Hellenic city was the proud capital. His solution was a more differentiated understanding of Hellenic freedom. While Brunus emphasised the principal interdependence of literary culture and political freedom,[382] Bessarion allowed forms of cultural and spiritual freedom to exist even without political autonomy. The different ideological positions of Brunus and Bessarion thus provoked different interpretations of freedom vis-à-vis imperial Rome, despite the superficial similarity of their positions.[383]

Although Bessarion could depict the Romans as a good-natured people in the context of his *Encomium*, hardly more than a decade later the Ottoman Turks posed a very different problem. Writing to the yoked Greeks a decade after the fall of Constantinople in his encyclical letter (*Encyclica*), Bessarion eventually had to conclude that they had now lost more than just their political power or monarchy ('μοναρχία'/'imperium') as they had under the Romans. Unlike the Trapezuntines under Roman rule, the Hellenes under Ottoman domination also lost the last vestiges of their practical wisdom ('σοφία'/'sapientia') and their theoretical knowledge ('ἐπιστήμη'/'disciplina'). The rationale behind the different treatment of Romans and Turks as masters must be sought not only in the different evaluation of Romans and Turks, but also in his views on good government. Unlike the Romans the Ottoman Turks were not a good-natured people. For Bessarion they were the ultimate barbarians, characterised by an innate inclination towards destruction. Bessarion expressed this extremely hostile image of the Turks in his Trapezuntine eulogy, but most articulately in his later *Orationes contra Turcas* that will be central to the next section. In addition, Bessarion saw an intimate relationship between the intellectual and moral status of the governing

[382] Baron (1955) 363.

[383] Given the disputed composition date of the *Encomium*, it is difficult to say if Bessarion intended the text somehow to contribute to Italian discussions over the concept of freedom. However, it might well be worthwhile to explore this issue further with a wider scope in a separate study.

and that of the governed.[384] After summing up the virtuous features of the Greek 'γένος' in his memorandum for the despot of the Morea, for instance, Bessarion added that the Hellenes needed a leader and a teacher ('κορυφαῖος and διδάσκαλος') to stimulate them to actualise their innate qualities.[385]

A barbarian ruler such as the Islamic Sultan could by definition not be a guide for his Greek subjects. Barbarians were stereotypically ignorant of and averse to Greek learning. If Greek wisdom and knowledge were stored in Greek literature, a barbarian ruler would consequently erase them together with Greek letters. In his *Encyclica*, however, the cardinal stressed that what remained for the Greeks even in their state of barbarian subordination was the 'excellence ('ἀρετή') of their character making those who possess it perfect men'.[386] This assertion complements and further refines Bessarion's earlier distinction between physical and psychic or spiritual freedom. While the Hellenes under Ottoman domination lost much of their spiritual freedom due to a loss of Hellenic wisdom and knowledge, they maintained something of a natural character tending towards the good and noble. It suffices to recall Bessarion's letter to Constantine Palaeologus, in which he claimed that the Hellenes were, among other things, mild by nature ('τὴν φύσιν') and naturally ('φύσει') noble and ambitious (see p. 106 with n. 364). Their natural propensity for excellence created room for the reawakening of what went lost with the arrival of the barbarian invaders.[387] In this Hellenic reawakening, Bessarion saw a role for himself.

[384] Compare Bessarion's chapter on Plato's views on monarchism in his *In calumniatorem Platonis* (Bessarion, ed. Mohler 1927: 581-589).

[385] Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1906) 22 ll. 27-29. In the same vain, Bessarion said that the despot would march against Asia with the Spartans 'whom you yourself will made' ('οὓς αὐτὸς ἀναπλάσεις').

[386] Bessarion, ed. Migne (1866) 453, 481 ('ἀρετὴ δὲ ὅσηπερ εἰς τὸ ἦθος τείνει, καὶ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀπεργάζεται τοὺς κεκτημένους' / 'virtus sola quae ad mores pertinet quaeque studiosos sui bonos effecit').

[387] A similar idea resurfaces in Musurus' *Hymn to Plato*. When Plato prophecies the liberation of Byzantium, he claims that the 'Greek people that is presently exhausted by slavery' ('λεὼς Γραικός ὁ δουλείᾳ νῦν κατατρυχόμενος') once liberated will remember its 'ancient virtue' ('ἀρχαίης ἀρετῆς, ἵν' ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἴδηται, μνήσεται'). See Musurus, ed. Siphakis (1954) 382 ll. 131-134. Siphakis' edition is not often cited, but should perhaps replace the edition of Émile Legrand (Musurus, ed. Legrand 1885c). On Musurus see also Geanakoplos (1976a).

Bessarion as a defender of Hellenic freedom after 1453

Bessarion's ideas about Hellenic freedom are important because they illuminate the ideological gist of his activities to support Hellenism during his cardinalship in Rome. As such, they help us to understand better how he himself saw his role in the Byzantine diaspora. For example, the letter in which Bessarion explained what was behind his heaping up of Greek manuscripts echoes the main concerns of his *Encomium*. According to the cardinal, the manuscript collection was intended to save the Hellenes from remaining 'voiceless' ('ἄφωνοι') and being similar to 'barbarians' ('βάρβαροι') and 'slaves' ('ἀνδράποδα') (see chapter 2, pp. 80-81). As we have seen, according to Bessarion in the *Encomium*, the Hellenes had always resisted the barbarians ('βάρβαροι') and rejected slavery ('δουλεία'), while they had also preserved their language and customs even when they lived surrounded by barbarian tribes. Through his library project Bessarion helped to maintain the values that his Trapezuntine ancestors had equally promoted. By conserving Greek literature, he also preserved the Greeks' ancestral 'σοφία' and 'ἐπιστήμη' contained in it, and so at least a substantial part of their psychic freedom. In so doing, he continued the Athenian tradition of defending freedom and resisting barbarism and slavery. Also his support of individual Hellenes fits in with this. Just as his Trapezuntine ancestors had helped out 'suppliants of the same *genos* and the same language', so did Bessarion.[388] It is well known that he helped many Byzantine scholars to come to the West and find employment there. He supported, among others, Constantine Lascaris in Messina, Demetrius Chalcondylas in Padua, and Andronicus Callistus in Florence.[389] After the fall of Byzantium, Bessarion wrote that 'the prospective obliteration of our remaining Hellenes cause[d] [him] enormous grief'.[390] In order to over-come this, he brought young Byzantines to the West to study and obtain positions, as he probably did with Janus Lascaris. In this way, Bessarion not only helped to conserve Greek learning, but also assisted Byzantines in making a living in the West.

Bessarion also exerted his influence to maintain Greek autonomy in a more properly political sense. The concept of physical freedom resurfaced, for example, in a curious

[388] Bessarion praised the ancestors of the Trapezuntines, among other things, for the fact that they never disregarded or drove away suppliants of their own stock and language. See Bessarion, ed. Lambros (1916) 170 ll. 2-4 = ed. Lampsides (1984) 44 ll. 13-14 ('…τὸ μὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν εἶναι παριδεῖν τε καὶ ἀπώσασθαι ἱκέτας ἀνθρώπους ταὐτοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φωνῆς τε καὶ γλώττης…').

[389] Cf. Bianca (1990) 10 n. 52-54.

[390] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 480 ll. 11-12: 'λυπεῖ δὲ με σφόδρα ἡ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπολειπουμένων Ἑλλήνων προσδοκουμένη φθόρα'. Cf. Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 482 ll. 13-14 ('τήν τε παντελῆ Ἑλλήνων ἀπώλειαν').

speech he delivered on the occasion of the transferral of the head of Saint Andrew from Mistra to Rome in 1462.[391] The relic was a present of Thomas Palaeologus to pope Pius II. In the oration, recorded in the pope's memoirs, cardinal Bessarion addressed Pius II in the voice of the Saint. In the speech, Saint Andrew hoped that with the help of Pius II the Greeks would regain their ancient freedom. The Greeks, in the Saint's words, 'are now subject to an impious and most savage enemy and are not only deprived of their physical freedom (*libertas corporum*), but also in danger of losing the integrity of their faith (*fidei integritas*)'.[392] The Saint's differentiation between *libertas corporum* and *fidei integritas* is reminiscent of Bessarion's distinction between physical and psychic 'ἐλευθερία' in his *Encomium*. In this specifically religious context, the concept of psychic freedom is recast in the more normative terms of religious *integritas*. Through the *persona* of Saint Andrew, Bessarion urged the pope to liberate the Greeks from the Ottoman Turks and to restore both their physical freedom and their orthodoxy (read Roman Catholicism). While it is quite clear what the restitution of the *fidei integritas* means, it is less easy to see what the restoration of the *libertas corporum* of the Greeks would entail in Bessarion's view. Did the cardinal aim at the restoration of the eastern Roman empire? Did he envision a Greek kingdom in the manner of Chalkokondyles? An Italian protectorate? I shall come back to such questions in the last section of this chapter.[393]

It is well known that Bessarion exerted all his energies to organise a large-scale crusade to liberate the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Sultan.[394] It is also well known that all these enterprises failed, most notably the crusade organised by Pius II, who died in Ancona before sailing off to Greece. Aware that concerted action in the West was impossible, Bessarion possibly sought other means to restore the *libertas corporum* of the Greeks. There is evidence that in the 1470s the cardinal was involved in the establishment of a semi-autonomous community for Greeks in the Maremma area in the

[391] See on this transferral in more detail Ronchey (2008b).

[392] Piccolomineus, ed. Totaro (1984) 1548.

[393] In a similar vein, Musurus made Plato plead the Greek case before Leo X in the Greek hymn to Plato he attached to his edition of Plato (see Musurus, ed. Siphakis 1954 replacing Musurus, ed. Legrand 1885c). Here, it is not the religious but rather the cultural authority of the speaker that is made productive in favour of the Byzantine Greek case.

[394] For a synoptic account of Bessarion's endeavours in favour of the crusade see Binner (1980) 23-110, but also Irmscher (1976), Schuhmann (1975), Manselli (1973), Mohler (1927), absent from Binner's bibliography.

neighbourhood of Siena.[395] Anna Notaras – the affluent daughter of the last *megadux* of Byzantium – planned to invest in the area to found a Greek colony there.[396] Although Bessarion did not live to see the outcome of the negotiations with Siena (ended in 1474), the report of the Sienese Consistory shows that the community would enjoy considerable sovereignty and was to be governed in accordance with the Justinian code together with the revisions by later emperors and the Orthodox Church.[397] One modern historian spoke of a 'surrogate Peloponnesus'.[398] In any case, in such a polity both the physical and psychic freedom of the Greeks would be secured until they would eventually return to Greece. In this way, to view Bessarion's activities in favour of the Greeks against the backdrop of the centrality of Hellenic freedom in his thought enables us to see a coherent ideological programme behind his Hellenism, mainly revolving around a set of two recurrent and interrelated concepts, namely Hellenism versus barbarism, and Hellenic freedom versus slavery.

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[395] Documents relating to the curious project are available in Calisse (1896) and Cecchina (1930). See also Harris (2006) esp. 95-97 and Maltezou (2006) esp. 104-105. It is not wholly clear to what degree Bessarion was involved in the plans as his part of the correspondence with the Consistory of Siena seems to be lost. On November 17, 1471 Battista Bellani reported to the Sienese Consistory that cardinal Bessarion had informed him that Greek families wanted to settle down in the Sienese territory (Cecchini 1930: 5). Together with large parts of the negotiations the letter of the notary public of the Sienese Consistory to the cardinal is preserved in the Sienese *Archivio di Stato* in which he explains the decision of the Consistory to allow a Greek settlement in the Maremma area (dated August 30, 1472, less than three months before Bessarion's death, cf. Cecchini 1930: 29-30 = doc. 5).

[396] On Anna Notaras see Nicol (1996) 96-109. The area was to be sold on the curious term that Anna's successor could be neither 'an unknown or suspect person of the Sienese community nor some lord in Italy who is an Italian by birth nor the son of a lord of Italian extraction'. See Cecchini (1930) 36: 'In primis petit ipsa Anna pro se et successoribus suis heredibus universalibus, natura vel ex testamento, in perpetuum, castrum dictum Montis Acuti cum eius curia ad usum eorum, cum pactis et convenctionibus [*sic*] et modificationibus infrascriptis et cum hoc quod talis subcessor non sit persona incognita vel suspecta communis Senarum et non sit aliquis dominus in Italia originalis italicus, nec filius domini de Italia originalis'.

[397] Cecchini (1930) 38: 'Item liceat dicte domine Anne et eius successoribus per tempora supervenientibus et eisdem hominibus habere et deputare officialem et officiales quos voluerint grecum, qui in civilibus et criminalibus et custodia castri guberne<n>t et ministre<n>t iustitiam cuicumque secundum iustinianas leges et ecclesiasticas in spiritualibus et politicas in temporalibus et secundum eorum mores et consuetudines ac reformationes per grecorum imperatores et ecclessie editas seu per hos dominos seu per dictos habitatores edendas, dummodo non sint contra magnificum comune Senarum nec contra eius cives seu alios subditos suos …'.

[398] Harris (2006) 95.

Especially against the backdrop of Trapezuntius' *Encomium to Trebizond* Bessarion's activities in support of the Hellenes appear as the continuation of the Atheno-Trapezuntine tradition with which he associated. Just as his ancestors had maintained their freedom far from their metropolis in Attica, so Bessarion attempted to maintain the spiritual and physical freedom of his expatriate fellow Hellenes. Just as his Athenian, Milesian and Sinopean ancestors had battled the barbarians, so Bessarion attempted to avert barbarism for the Hellenes in the darkest moment of their history. The cardinal thus really embodied the values and customs of his Atheno-Trapezuntine ancestors.

The importance of this aspect of Bessarion's self-representation must not be underestimated, not only because it gives ideological coherence to his aspirations and efforts, but also because contemporaries signalled it out as a significant feature of the cardinal. At Bessarion's burial in the Church of the Holy Apostles in 1472, for example, cardinal Capranica delivered a funeral oration, in which he summarised the argument Bessarion had made in his *Encomium* circa thirty years earlier. 'His fatherland is Trapezus,' the cardinal proclaimed, 'a colony of the Sinopeans. As a matter of fact, the Milesians established Sinope, the Athenians Miletus. Inheriting the nobility of his parents, grandparents and ancestors, he tempered the opulence and intemperance of the Asian genius with Attic moderation'.[399] This idea was also taken up by Michael Apostoles in his funeral oration for the cardinal as well as by Baptista Platina in his panegyrical speech delivered when the cardinal was still alive and supposedly in his presence.[400]

Apart from a Hellene with a mission of freedom, however, Bessarion also was a cardinal with a mission for Rome and the ambition to become pope. While for a Greek audience, he presented himself as a Hellene, it is notable that for a Latin audience, he

[399] Capranica, ed. Mohler (1942) 406 ll. 11-15: 'Bessario nobili et antiqua Graecia ortus oriundusque fuit. Siquidem eius patria est Trapezus, Sinopensium colonia. Sinopem vero condidere Milesii, Miletum Athenienses. Ex his parentibus, avis, abavis maioribusque nobilitatem referens ubertatem atque redundantiam Asiani ingenii Attica moderatione temperavit'). Capranica certainly knew Bessarion's Trapezuntine eulogy as well as his letter regarding affairs on the Peloponnesus (see Capranica, ed. Mohler 1942: 410 ll. 6-7, where he refers to 'laudationes scilicet duae patriae suae Trapezuntiae et Isthmi').

[400] Apostoles, ed. Migne (1886) CXXXII: 'τούτῳ μὲν δὴ πατρὶς ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα μετὰ τὴν βασιλίδα βασιλὶς τῶν πόλεων Τραπεζοῦς, πόλις αρχειοτάτη καὶ Ἑλληνίς…' and Platina, ed. Migne (1868) esp. CIV: 'Is enim ex vetere Graecia oriundus natusque in Asia, utrimque collegit generosi spiritus semina. Trapezuntius, Sinopensium colonia, ejus patria est; Sinopem condidere Milesii, Miletum Athenienses. Ex his, ut a parentibus, avis, proavis nobilitatem referens, redundantiam Asiani ingenii frugalitate Attica compescuit'.

not only highlighted his role as a cardinal of the Roman Church, but even played down and dissimulated his Greekness. This suggests that the Greek cardinal experienced constraints to his freedom of expression when he addressed a Latin audience.

Bessarion's dissimulation of Greekness

Bessarion's epitaph in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome included all his Roman ecclesiastical titles, but also stated that he was born in 'noble Greece' ('nobili Graecia ortus').[401] On one of the manuscripts he donated to the monastery of Grottaferrata we read that Bessarion was 'a cardinal by rank ('τὴν ἀξίαν') and a Hellene by descent ('τὸ γένος')'.[402] Although the authenticity of his funerary inscription is disputed,[403] such statements encapsulate one of the main tensions characterising Bessarion's concerns and preoccupations and consequently the way he presented himself. While in his role as protector of the Greeks he mainly addressed a Greek audience – either in Italy or in the Greek-speaking world at large –, in his role as cardinal he faced a chiefly Latin audience. The tension between his role as a Greek patriot and as a Roman cardinal is reflected in his oeuvre.

As we have seen in the previous sections, Bessarion thought of the Greeks as a coherent group with a specific character that should ideally be protected by a form of political organisation. He also emphasised the idea of Hellenic 'ἐλευθερία' and sought to promote Greek interests in the West where he could. The cardinal has therefore been praised as a real Greek patriot, and some even claimed that Bessarion's crusading

[401] The text of the epitaph is included in Forcella (1863) 226 n. 656. It reads 'BESSARIO EPISCOPVS THVSCVLANVS | SANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE CARDINALIS | PATRIARCHA CONSTANTINOPOLITANVS | NOBILI GRAECIA ORTVS ORIVNDVSQUE | SIBI VIVENS POSVIT | ANNO SALVTIS MCCCCLXVI || ΤΟΥΤ ΕΤΙ ΒΗΣΣΑΡΙΩΝ | ΖΩΝ ΑΝΥΣΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ | ΣΗΜΑ · | ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΔΕ ΦΕΥΞΕΙΤΑΙ | ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ *[Bessarion, Bishop of Tuscany, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Patriarch of Constantinople, born and descended from noble Greece, erected [this] for himself while still alive, in the Year of Redemption 1466. || I, Bessarion, erected, when I was still alive, this monument for my dead body: My spirit shall flee to God immortal].* A Latin reworking of the Greek text by Theodore Gaza is preserved in BML, Plut. 34.24, fol. 1^{r}: 'Bessarion hanc uiuus fecerat ossibus urnam | Inmortalem adiit spiritus deum'. Cf. Bandini (1777) 96 and Bandini (1775) 153. It should be noted that the phrase 'Nobili Graecia ortus oriundusque' was not in the version foreseen in Bessarion's will. Cf. Migne (1866) 80, Mohler (1923) 21 n. 3. See also Richardson (2009) 220-233, 453-455 for a brief description of what the chapel and the tomb originally looked like. For a detailed study of the chapel's iconography or what is left of it see Tiberia (1992).

[402] Reference is to cod. Crypt. Z.δ.I of the Grottaferrata monastery. The line is '† ἐκ τῶν Βησσαρίωνος καρδινάλεως τὴν ἀξίαν, τὸ γένος ἕλληνος' (cited after Fiaccadori 1994: 385).

[403] Petta (1974) 367-368, *contra* Bianca (1980c) 145 n. 169.

appeals remained without success because his patriotic zeal simply eclipsed his political deftness.[404] Even so, Bessarion's crowning achievement in crusade literature, the *Orationes contra Turcas*, show him in his role as Roman cardinal rather than Greek patriot. Even though Hellenic freedom was central to his thought, Bessarion did not highlight Hellenic concerns when he most eagerly defended the liberation of the Greeks and other peoples from the Turkish yoke.

Bessarion composed his *Orationes contra Turcas* in 1470 on the occasion of the fall of Negroponte (Euboea) in that same year.[405] In the speeches, Bessarion personally addressed the princes of Europe to join forces in a large-scale crusade against the Ottoman Turks. Although Venice was in fact the only power directly affected by the loss of Negroponte, Sultan Mehmet's successful invasion gave the Ottoman Turks both control over the sea and a strategic base to invade the Italian peninsula. Just as Bessarion's Trapezuntine eulogy, the speeches were not originally delivered in any sort of assembly.[406] Together with his translation of Demosthenes' speech Bessarion initially sent them to the Venetian Doge Christoforo Moro in response to the latter's consolatory letter on the loss of Negroponte; he also included his letter to the abbot of Sanseverino in the package, omitting the most embarrassing passages about the pope.[407] The *Orationes contra Turcas*, printed by Guillaume Fichet in the very year of Negroponte's fall, consist of three introductory letters, two speeches, and a Latin translation of Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac*.[408] The two speeches are addressed to the Italians ('Itali'). The first speech is about the imminent dangers of Ottoman expansion for the Italian peninsula, while the second addresses the need to end discord and unite against the Ottomans.[409] The Latin translation of Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac* is preceded by an introductory note and concluded by an epilogue.[410] Fichet's print was

[404] Pfeiffer (1968) 57: 'Aber bei Bessarion war die Vaterlandsliebe größer als die politische Geschicklichkeit'.

[405] Babinger (1978) 279-284; Setton (1978) 291-293, 298-313; Miller (1908) 170-179.

[406] Meserve (2003) 524.

[407] Meserve (2003) 542.

[408] The first letter is an introductory letter to Fichet (fol. 3^{r}-3^{v}), the second is a letter to the princes of Italy, explaining the contents of the booklet (fols. 3^{v}-4^{v}), and the third one is addressed to Bessarion of Sanseverino (fols. 4^{v}-8^{v}).

[409] The first speech is entitled 'Bessarionis Cardinalis ad Italos de periculis imminentibus Oratio' (fols. 8^{v}-19^{r}), the second 'Eiusdem de discordiis sedandis et bello in Turcum decernendo' (fols. 19^{r}-32^{r}).

[410] Introduction on fols. 31^{v}-32^{r}, translation on fols. 32^{v}-40^{r}, epilogue on fols. 40^{r}-41^{r}. For quotations, I have used the original 1470-edition of Guillaume Fichet. The only modern edition

disseminated among the Christian powers of Europe in exemplars that had often been personalised with pictural decorations or poetical compositions.[411]

The absence of Greece in Bessarion's speeches is remarkable not only against the backdrop of his own preoccupation with Greece elsewhere, but also against the background of how other Byzantines dealt with the crusade in their works. Almost all of them somehow integrated the liberation of the Greeks into their crusade appeals. Manilius Cabacius Rallus, for instance, argued that the 'houses and hearths of the Greeks' must be restored, while Johannes Gemistus aimed at the restoration of a particular territory in which the Greeks naturally lived (on which see chapter 6).[412] Moreover, Byzantine intellectuals often presented crusades and the resulting liberation of their homeland as a western obligation towards the Greeks. Demetrius Chalcondylas, for example, spoke of a *remuneratio*, a recompense.[413] He primarily referred to the sixth-century Gothic Wars, in which the Byzantines (the 'Graeci') had restored peace in Italy when it was trampled by the Goths. Since the Greeks had so liberally exerted their energies to rescue Italy – Chalcondylas argued – the Italians had now to recompense and liberate Greece from the Turks.[414] His reference to early Byzantine history is exceptional. Classical Greece was more frequently cited in this context, though both

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of the text is Bessarion, ed. Migne (1866), but it is based on the 1537-edition of Antonius Bladius. The glosses to the Demosthenes-translation are not included; they are only included in the edition of Geuffraeus (1573) 240-253. Though I cite from Fichet's edition of 1470, I also refer to the edition of Migne as his edition is more readily available. Where necessary, I record variant readings. For earlier manuscript redactions of the *Orationes* see Monfasani (1981 = 1995, essay II) 179-181, 196-204; for a thorough analysis of the history of the text see Meserve (2003).

[411] Bessarion's *Orationes contra Turcas* have been discussed in the context of their text history, and in the context of the argumentative strategies used by Bessarion to achieve his goals, yet they have not been critically examined with regard to their self-representational strategies. See Lentzen (2010) 293-204, Colliard (2004) 103-113, Meserve (2004) 31-38, Meserve (2003, 1981), Manseli (1973), Schoebel (1967) 157-160, Vast (1878) 386-392. A discussion of the *Orationes* is conspicuously absent in Coluccia (2009).

[412] See Lamers (2012b).

[413] The text of Chalcondylas' speeches is in Geanakoplos (1976b) 296-304 (with English translation on 254-264 and discussion on 231-253). See also Geanakoplos (1974a).

[414] Chalcondylas, ed. Geanakoplos (1976) 300 (*ad* fol. 6^{v}). According to Bisaha (2004) 115, Chalcondylas here reminds the Latins 'of the unity that once existed between Greek East and Latin West – in this case back when the Italians still acknowledged the Byzantines as Romans'. Chalcondylas actually made no effort to stress a specifically *Roman* unity between Italians and Byzantines for he called Byzantium 'Graecia' and the Byzantines Greeks, which is in line with the way Italian humanists saw the Byzantines in history (see also chapter 2, pp. 57-65).

periods were probably seen as part of Greek antiquity.[415] The idea was that the European nations owed a cultural debt to the Greeks because their ancestors had significantly contributed to their civilisation, either by inventing its constitutive parts, or by perfecting what they had received from other even more ancient cultures.[416]

The *argument of cultural debt* is worked out in clearest detail by Bessarion's most influential protégé Janus Lascaris in a speech for Charles V. Lascaris delivered the speech as a papal legate probably in Madrid almost fifty years after Bessarion's death in about 1525. He had the papal mandate to reconcile Charles with the king of France Francis I after the battle of Pavia in order to create a basis for crusade. However, Lascaris used the opportunity also to plead the Greek case, and he did so with the argument of cultural debt.[417] In compliance with crusade rhetoric Lascaris stressed both the necessity and utility of a crusade against the Turks,[418] and, as a papal legate, equally emphasised the need for unity among European Christians.[419] However, Lascaris mandate was twofold, as he explained himself to Charles as follows:

> 'Per questa causa et per questo effecto sono stato mandato qui, et tal cosa ho ad dire et dico ad vostra Serenità ad nome suo; nè solo lui è che mi manda, Syre, ma se ho ad dire cossa che non deve parere stranea ad vostra Serenità, mi manda l'antiqua Grecia et le reliquie de la presente ad Supplicarvi, Syre, che li vogliate havere compassione; dico l'antiqua Grecia, quelli grandi homeni che lei ha producto, li quali hanno domesticato et ornato il mondo de ogni virtú et humanità...'[420]

[415] Ben-Tov (2010) makes the point that German humanists placed the end of Greek antiquity as late as 1453.

[416] On the role of the concepts of *inventio/heuresis* and *translatio/mimesis* as well as the idea of inventorship in cultural history from Greco-Roman antiquity to the Italian Renaissance see Atkinson (2007).

[417] If the speech was actually delivered, it was most probably in 1525 (see Whittakker 1980: 89-91; Binner 1981: 177-178). However, it is likely that the text in its present form is a reworking of the original speech (Whittakker 1980: 92). On the complicated text history in general see Whittakker (1977a) together with Whittakker (1980) and Nikas (1995) 349-353.

[418] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 7-11 ll. 202-205 ll. 426-429.

[419] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 338-339. Lascaris alludes to the fact that Charles V kept the French king as a captive; the orator advises the emperor to liberate him and to make his sister the captive's bride in order to secure peace and unity among the Christians (ll. 370-558).

[420] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 113-120. Cf. Lascaris (ed. Nikas 1995) ll. 168-170: 'Queste cose, Syre, io ho in commissione dal summo Pontifice, et de la patria mia, a Vostra Maestà circa il pregare et supplicare che voglia fare la impresa'.

For this reason and to this effect I am sent to you, and this I have to say and I say this to your Highness in the pope's name. But it is not only the pope who sends me, Sire. If I may say something which must not astound Your Highness: ancient Greece and what is left of present-day Greece send me in order to beg you, Sire, to have compassion on them. Ancient Greece, I say – how many excellent men she has produced, men who domesticated the world and ornated it with every virtue and civilisation…

The remainder of Janus Lascaris' argument accordingly revolved around the notion of cultural debt. According to him, the nations of Europe had an obligation to the Greek nation and 'must recognise Greece as their mother' and must commemorate its ancient heroes as their fathers and teachers.[421] In a long list he summed up the protagonists of Greek civilisation who must be recompensed for their contribution. These reveal an inclusive view on the Greek contribution to Europe, going far beyond the humanist curriculum, and also comprising, for instance, the arts and sciences of legislature, statecraft, medicine and theology.[422] According to Lascaris, the men of his small catalogue gave to the inhabitants of Europe their laws, religion and the customs appropriate to true humans.[423] On their behalf, Lascaris beseeched Charles to 'liberate their fatherland (*patria*), now occupied by a foul and abominable people, so that their inventions and institutions would have their rightful place and domicile (*la propria sede et domicilio*)'.[424] With a Vergilian line he made them beg the emperor to 'grant [them] an

[421] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 136-140: 'Onde potete, Syre, considerare, essendo iusto estimatore, quanta obligatione hanno tute queste nationi alla natione Greca, che veramente doveriamo riconoscere la Grecia como loro Matre, et havere memoria deli prenominati homini, como de Patri loro, et Preceptori'.

[422] The protagonists fall into nine categories: heroes (ll. 120-121: Heracles, Theseus, Jason), legislators (ll. 122-123: Minos, Lycurgus, Solon), commanders and strategists (ll. 122-123: Themistocles, Aristides, Epaminondas), kings (ll. 123: Agesilaus, Philip, Alexander), poets and historians (ll. 123-126: Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch), philosophers (ll. 126-128: Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Theophrastus), geographers (ll. 128-129: Hipparchus, Strabo, Ptolemaeus), medical authors (l. 129: Hippocrates, Galen), and theologians (ll. 130-131: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom).

[423] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 135-136: 'questi hanno dato la lege, la Religione et li costumi da veri homini'.

[424] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 139-150: 'Nè pensate, Syre, che questo sia somnio mio o visione, ma vera coniectura che se tutti costoro havesseno ad ridurse in un loco et deliberare insieme, facio certa coniectura che mandariano, essendo licito, a Vostra Maestà et fariano questa richiesta che li piacesse liberara la loro patria, occupata da gente feda, et abominabile, affin che il loro inventi et instituti havesseno la propria sede et domicilio, et como solevano vivi instruire li

enduring home, and to grant secure walls to [their] expelled band'.[425] Throughout the speech Lascaris also emphatically identified himself with the Greeks and underscored his own Greekness. In the very first sentence of his speech he introduced himself as a 'Greek nobleman' ('gentilhomo greco'),[426] and also presented himself as a representative and even ambassador of both 'ancient Greece and the remnants (*reliquie*) of present-day Greece'.[427] In this way, then, Lascaris created the impression of a continuum from the hero Hercules and Homer through Chrysostom to the early modern *greci* and himself. This relationship between himself, the *greci* he represented, and the protagonists of ancient Greece, forms the core of Lascaris' claim of cultural debt.

The contrast with Bessarion's *Orationes contra Turcas* is striking. The cardinal did not single out Greece as a distinctive (ethnic, linguistic, or cultural) entity that must somehow be restored. He rather framed the crusading project primarily as a religious affair in defence of Christendom in general and the Italian peninsula in particular. Already in the opening lines of the letter to his namesake of Sanseverino, he deplored the misfortunes of the Christians rather than the Greeks.[428] Similarly, at the end of his first speech to the Italian princes he urged them to expel the enemy so that the liberty of

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homini, cosí per li loro precepti et exepti possino ancora farlo, et non si extingua la loro fama, floria e scientia, como già la é extincta in Grecia, et ne li altri paesi certa ombra sola è restata'.

[425] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 152-153: 'Da propriam, Rex Magne, domum, da menia pulsis'. The Vergilian subtext is curious since in the *Aeneid*, the line 'Da propriam, Thymbraee, domum, da moenia fessis' (*A.* 3.85), expressed by Aeneas, continues as follows: 'Et genus et mansuram urbem; serua altera Troiae | Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli'. The Vergilian reference to the Greeks as aggressors is a subtext which Lascaris cannot have intended. Possibly, he took the line from a notebook without checking its original context (e.g. one of his own notebooks with *loci communes* that are listed by Pontani 1992: 372-373, nrs. 1-4).

[426] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) 354 ll. 1-4: 'Sacra, Cesarea et Catholica Maestà, io presentai laltro giorno el breve de la santità dil Papa a vostra serenità et dissi sollo ad quella che ero un gentilhomo greco informato et instructo de le cosse di levante …'.

[427] Lascaris, ed. Nikas (1995) ll. 154-168. He explained that he was in contact with the Greeks under Ottoman rule via secret messages, and that they implored the emperor through 'us who are in this part of the world' ('per mezo de noi altri che semo in queste parte' ll. 161-162). Sathas' translation of 'le *reliquie* di costoro, et de l'antique Grecia' as οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος ('the descendants of these men and ancient Greece') instead of 'τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν…' suppresses the ambivalent meaning of the Italian word 'reliquie' in this context (see Sathas 1869: 88, using the unreliable edition of Giovanni Battista Scandella, published in 1848, on which see Whittakker 1980).

[428] Bessarion (1470) fol. 3^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 647-648): 'Deploranti mihi nuper Christianorum hominum calamitates et acerbissimam Chalcidis Euboicae euersionem, litterae abs te redditae fuerunt…'.

Italy ('libertatem Italiae') will be secured.[429] Bessarion equally bemoaned the 'Christianorum fortunae, opes, imperia' brought under the Ottoman yoke after the fall of Constantinople. In this context, he mentioned the inhabitants of his native Trebizond, Synope, Lesbos, the Peloponnesus, Caria, Cilicia, Mysia, Lower Pannonia, Epirus, Illyria and Euboea, all once part of the Byzantine empire whose territoriality remains unmentioned. The Greeks ('Graeci') are only mentioned in one breath with the Mysians, the Illyrians and the Pannonians. From the perspective taken in the letter, the 'Graeci' are just one of the many Christian peoples that lost their liberty to the Ottomans. This is also reflected in Bessarion's use of the first person plural: 'we' consistently refers to *us Christians* instead of *us Greeks*.[430] Stress is on the fact that *Christian* blood is fleeing,[431] and the main antithesis is between the addressees ('we') and the Ottomans ('they'), defined primarily on the religious level as an antithesis between Christians and Muslims, framed as a division between the faithful and the infidel.[432] Janus Lascaris, on the other hand, referred to the Greeks in the first person plural. When he recalled the rise of Ottoman power, for instance, he expressly referred to 'what [the Ottoman Turks] undertook against *us Greeks* both on the sea and on land, both in Asia and in Europe' ('quello facevano contra *noi Greci* per mar e per tera in Asia et in Europa', ll. 45-46, emphasis mine).

It is mainly in the context of Bessarion's digression on the rise of the Ottoman Turks that he referred to the Byzantine empire. In Latin fashion, he called it 'the empire of the Greeks' ('imperium Graecorum').[433] All the same, even in this particular context, the

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[429] Bessarion (1470) fol. 19^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 659).

[430] Cf., e.g., Bessarion (1470) fol. 19^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 660): 'in hostium nostrorum capita'; fol. 21^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 661): 'hostium nostrorum rem'; fol. 25^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 665): 'ceruicibus nostris imminentem'; fol. 25^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 665): 'nostrorum sanguine'; fol. 25^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 665: 'nomen nostrorum', fol. 26^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 665: 'nostrorum cadauera').

[431] Cf. Bessarion (1470) fol. 7^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 650) and fols. 10^{v}-11^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 653).

[432] Cf. Bessarion (1470) fol. 7^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 650): 'Nulla inter oues et lupos gratia. Nullum inter prophanos homines et Christianos ius amicitiae est. Non donis, non muneribus pacatur hostis immanis, barbarus. Nulla foederis religione tenetur perfidus, non mouetur misericordia crudelissimus. Dominari, praeesse, imperare cupit; cruore et flamma cuncta delere uult. Subiugare sibi cunctos studet' *[There is no love between sheep and wolfs. There is no right of friendship between profane people and Christians. The inhuman, barbarian enemy is not pacified by presents nor by gifts. The perfidious man is not bound by the obligation of the covenant, the most cruel man is not moved by compassion. He rather desires to dominate, to rule, to command; he wants to destroy everything with bloodshed and blazing fire. He aims at subjugating all men to him]*.

[433] The Byzantine emperor was called 'imperator Graecorum' (cf. Bessarion, ed. Mohler 1942c: 564). In the second speech to the Italian princes, he refers to the cruelties suffered by the

cardinal did not openly identify himself with the Greeks of the empire, or what they suffered due to the Ottoman Turks. Rather to the contrary, he critically evaluated Greek history in a way not open to someone presenting himself as an ardent patriot. Bessarion even went so far as to assert that Mehmet was inspired by an example from Greek history, namely Alexander the Great, whose *gesta* the Sultan read thoroughly.[434] He was not only critical of the role played by the Greeks in the westward expansion of the Ottomans into Europe, but he more explicitly presented Greece as a *negative* example to the West. In the second speech to the Italian princes, dealing with the necessity to unite the Christians against the Ottomans, he claimed that the dissolution of the Byzantine empire was ultimately due to the discord among the Greeks themselves. 'Nothing but discord destroyed miserable Greece', Bessarion claimed, 'nothing but civil war annihilated this part of the world – and not only in our own memory, but also in ancient times'. To illustrate his point, he adduced the example of Philip of Macedon who was able to overturn Greece precisely because of the mutual hatred of Athenians, Spartans, Thebans, and the others.[435] This idea is further spelled out in his Latin translation of Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac*, originally composed to warn the Athenians to assist the Olynthians against Philip of Macedon so as to check his expansion.[436] Bessarion not only translated the piece, but also made the parallels between past and present as explicit as

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inhabitants of Constantinople (called 'Bizantini'), for which see Bessarion (1470) fol. 26^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 665).

[434] Bessarion (1470) fol. 15^{r}-15^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 657-658).

[435] Bessarion (1470) fols. 21^{v}-22^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: 662): 'Nihil aliud miseram extinxit Graeciam nisi discordia, nihil aliud eam orbis partem deleuit nisi bella ciuilia neque solum nostra memoria sed etiam priscis temporibus. Nam Philippus, Amyntae filius, Alexandri magni pater, per Atheniensium, Lacedaemoniorum, Thebanorum, aliorumque mutua odia Graeciam euertit' *[Nothing else extinguished miserable Greece than discord, nothing else obliterated this part of the world than civil war, and not only in our own time, but also in the remote past. For Philip, the son of Amyntas, the father of Alexander the Great, destroyed Greece due to the mutual hatred of the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians, the Thebans and others]*. Note that in the next lines, Bessarion added a positive example from Greek history, where cooperation led to a victory over the aggressor, namely during the Peloponnesian war.

[436] It seems that Bessarion's translation was fairly literal. Here and there, he manipulated his rendering. For example, on fol. 30^{r} he rendered 'ψηφίσασθαι … τὴν βοήθειαν' of Demosthenes 1.2.14 with 'auxilia decernenda', omitting the element of voting suggested by 'ψηφίσασθαι', but not covered by 'decernenda', while on fol. 31^{r} he rendered the Greek 'τὴν πόλιν' of Demosthenes 1.5.17 with the more emotive 'patria' as if the original had 'πατρίς'. To see the significance of such choices, a study of Bessarion's translation would be welcome. Marianne Pade is preparing a study of Bessarion's translation techniques.

he could in the prologue 'ex auctoritate Demosthenis', the epilogue as well as in the marginal notes printed with the translation.[437] In this way, he used the ancient Greeks as an *exemplum* in a way typical of a humanist rather than a Greek patriot.

Throughout the *Orationes* as well as in the marginal notes to his translation of Demosthenes, Bessarion laid particular emphasis on the idea of *libertas* that was also prominent in his Trapezuntine eulogy.[438] Even so, the freedom Bessarion defended in his Turkish orations was not the freedom he had inherited from the ancient Greeks. In the context of his orations, *libertas* meant Italian or even Christian *libertas* in the sense of *fidei integritas*, the unity of all Christians threatened by Islam. This freedom was not an inheritance of the ancient Greeks, but it was threatened by a similar enemy as Hellenic 'ἐλευθερία', viz. by a barbarian enemy of the East. Bessarion reformulated the adamant dichotomy between Hellenes and barbarians of his *Encomium* as a dichotomy between Christians and barbarians in his *Orationes*. In this way, he contaminated the classical opposition of civilised Hellenes versus uncultured barbarians with the medieval opposition of Christians versus non-Christians.

This still leaves the question open *why* Bessarion left out all references to his Greekness. Part of an explanation resides in Bessarion's position as a Greek cardinal.[439] As a high-placed member of the Church he had first and foremost to promote the Holy War against the infidel, not the liberation of his fatherland. He himself explicated this in a letter to the Venetian Doge that he wrote two months or so after the fall of Constantinople. In it, Bessarion repeatedly stated that he wanted to avoid the impression that he was preoccupied with his fatherland ('patria') rather than the

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[437] Cf., e.g., Bessarion (1470) fol. 30^{r}: 'Ita enim tum Graeciae Philippus imminebat, ut nunc Turcus Italiae. Substineat igitur Philippus Turci personam, Itali Atheniensium, nos Demosthenis. Iam facile intelliges totam orationem causae nostrae conuenire' *[In the same way as in those days Philip threatened all of Greece', Bessarion wrote at the end of his prologue, 'so the Turk now threatens Italy. May Philip therefore take the role of the Turk, the Italians that of the Athenians, and we that of Demosthenes. You will easily understand that the whole speech fits our cause].*

[438] Bessarion (1470) fols. 31^{r}, 34^{v}, 36^{r}.

[439] The primary importance of Bessarion's ecclesiastical position also appears from his personal *curriculum vitae*, written on the first page of his *Horologion* (BNM, Marc. gr. 14, fol. 1^{r}), where Bessarion sums up the stages of his ecclesiastical career from his acceptance of the monastic habit in 1423 until his appointment to cardinal in 1440. The note is printed with a French translation by Saffrey (1965) 270-272. See also the prologue to BNM, Marc. gr. 533 which constitutes a collection of *iuvenilia*. In the prologue, he again stressed his ecclesiastical career. In the note he also stated that he was by both from Trebizond, while he was nourished and educated in Constantinople (Bessarion, ed. Saffrey 1964: 283: '…τοῦνομα βησσαρίωνι, τὸ γένος ἐκ τραπεζοῦντος, ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει τραφέντι καὶ παιδευθέντι'). For more editions see Rigo (1994) 34.

Christian cause.[440] Bessarion added to this that as a cardinal he was in the position 'to beg for help freely, not for the benefit of my fatherland, not for that of my city, but for the sake of all-round safety, for the honour of the Christians. From this position', Bessarion continued, 'I was able to explain to many men how great a danger threatens Italian interests, not to speak of the interests of others, if the advance of the most savage barbarians is not halted'.[441]

The reasons why Bessarion wanted to avoid this impression can be gauged from a specific episode of Bessarion's ecclesiastical career which gave him good reason to dissimulate his Greekness in the *Orationes*. After the death of pope Nicholas V in 1455, Bessarion's papal election had failed, precisely because of his Greekness. If we follow the account of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus, the cardinal of Avignon had obstructed Bessarion's election with aggressive reference to the candidate's Greek background, concluding that he would never accept a Greek as pope.[442] After the attack, the Greek cardinal lost his majority of votes in the Curia and even found himself with less power than before. In other words, by the time Bessarion wrote his *Orationes*, he had good reasons to be very cautious in displaying his Greekness, and might well have felt the need to overcome the suspicion that he, as a Greek, was defending only particular group interests.

By the time Bessarion wrote his *Orationes*, he was still considered a serious candidate for the papacy in the near future. In this context, it is not a coincidence that Bessarion originally sent his *Orationes* to the Venetian Doge. In so doing, the cardinal communicated a very clear message of commitment to the Venetian case that made clear that, if he would ever be pope, he would use his influence to establish the *liga generalis* that the Venetians wanted. When Paul II died in July 1471, Venice indeed preferred cardinal Bessarion as his successor. The Venetian Senate wrote to its ambassador in Urbino that they assumed the assistance of the Duke in achieving the election of the Byzantine cardinal who was not only very well-disposed towards Venice

[440] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 475 ll. 1-12, 476 ll. 12-17.

[441] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 476 ll. 12-17: 'Mihi vero data est facultas libere implorandi auxilium, non iam pro patria, non pro civitatis meae salute, sed pro tutela omnium, pro Christi gloria, pro christianae fidei conservatione, pro Christianorum honore. Quo in loco pluribus exponere poteram, quantum periculi immineat italicis rebus, ne de reliquis dicam, nisi truculentissimi barbari impetus comprimantur'.

[442] Piccolomineus, ed. Van Heck (1984) 1:43 (= Piccolomineus, ed. Totaro 1984: 1:154). For an English translation of the passage see Piccolomineus, ed. and trans. Meserve & Simonetta (2003) 141.

(considering her a 'second Byzantium' and his 'patria'),[443] but was also the most ardent supporter of a crusade against the Ottomans in the Roman Curia.[444]

The *persona* Bessarion created for himself in the *Orationes* is in line with all this. He represented himself expressly, first, as a leader of the Roman Church, and secondly, as an unbiased observer of history. In the heading of his address to Fichet, for example, his ecclesiastical dignities feature prominently: 'Bessarion, Bishop of Sabinus, Cardinal, Patriarch of Constantinople, [Bishop] of Nicaea'.[445] Moreover, in his introductory letter to Bessarion of Sanseverino, he called his namesake as a witness to the fact that he predicted the calamities of Christendom as soon as he had heard that Constantinople had fallen into Ottoman hands in 1453. In this context, Bessarion insisted that his foresight had not been not caused by his extraordinary sagacity or some sort of prophetic fury. The situation had rather been perfectly clear 'for all who were exempt from private concerns and affects'.[446]

All this shows that the idea that Bessarion's crusading appeals remained without success because his patriotic zeal eclipsed his political deftness is not entirely justified. If anything, the cardinal did his best to appeal to the general concerns of his audience instead of that of himself or the Greeks. Bessarion's dissimulation of Greekness here corresponds to the cultural sensitivity characterising his diplomatic *modus operandi* in

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[443] In a letter to the Doge Cristoforo Moro and the Senate (dated May 31, 1468), Bessarion explained why he chose to dedicate his precious library to Venice, stating: 'Cum enim in civitatem vestram omnes fere totius orbis nationes maxime confluant, tum praecipue Graeci, qui e suis provinciis navigio venientes Venetiis primum descendunt, ea praeterea vobiscum necessitudine devincti, ut ad vestram appulsi urbem quasi alterum Byzantium introire videantur. Post haec quomodo poterit hoc beneficium a nobis honestius locari, quam apud eos homines, quibus ego multis eorum in me beneficiis devinctus obstrictusque essem, et in ea civitate, quam mihi subiugata Graecia pro patria elegissem, et in quam accitus a vobis atque honorificentissime receptus fuissem?' (Bessarion, ed. Mohler 1942c: 542).

[444] Setton (1978) 312-313.

[445] Bessarion (1470) fol. 3^{r}: 'Bessarion episcopus Sabiensis, cardinalis, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus Nicenus'.

[446] Bessarion (1470) fol. 6^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: 649-650): 'Tu es mihi testis, quom Bononiae essemus (…) atque allatus esset infoelicissimus ille de urbis Bizantinae excidio nuntius, ea omnia, quae postea consecuta sunt, me futura praedixisse, non ea sane de causa, quod uel prudentia excellenti uel diuinationis furore aliquo despicerem quae alii non cernerent, sed quod omnibus qui priuatis studiis et affectibus uacui essent, ea omnia palam erant et in promptu' *[You are my witness that when we were in Bologna (…) and this most infelicitous message about the fall of Constantinople arrived, that I foretold all things that would happen next, not for the reason that I can observe things others cannot see through my extraordinary sagacity or some sort of prophetic fury, but because these things were clearly visible for all who were exempt from private concerns and affects].*

general. Bessarion's intentionality in this respect comes to the fore most clearly in a passage from his *Encyclica*, like most of his major works first written in Greek for a Greek audience, and then translated into Latin to enlarge its audience. The document shows that it was his audience that not only determined the language he used, but also the nuances of what he said. In the *Encyclica* he tried to present his own conversion to Roman Catholicism apologetically as an example for the Greeks in general. When he discussed the possible reasons for Greek misery under Ottoman rule, he explicitly rejected the idea that the Greeks had been divinely punished because of their sins. In morals and honesty in life, Bessarion wrote to the Greeks, 'our people is inferior to none and superior over some'. In the Latin text, we read exactly the same – except for that crucial 'ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ βελτίους', a subtle but significant omission.[447]

The limits of freedom: Political Panhellenism?

Bessarion's preoccupation with Hellenic 'ἐλευθερία' and his endeavours in favour of a crusade prompt the question how the cardinal thought about the future of his liberated fatherland. Did he intend to unite the Greeks under a Greek king as did Laonikos Chalkokondyles? Or did he envision the liberated Greeks in a world dominated by the Latins? It has been suggested that Bessarion envisioned the political restoration of the eastern Roman empire ('Rhomäerreich').[448] A similar argument has been made for Janus Lascaris. According to one modern historian, for instance, Lascaris was so appalled at the idea of a Latin empire that for him the restoration of the Greek empire was the only viable option.[449] All the same, we must be very careful not to attach too much significance to the scant evidence we have for Bessarion's views on the political future of Greece. As we have seen, there is evidence that he wanted to restore some kind of political or physical freedom (*corporum libertas*) for the Greeks. He also defended

[447] Compare 'siquidem et dictum est, et vere dictum est, ut arbitror, nostros in iis quae ad mores et vitae honestatem pertinent nullis esse inferiores' with 'εἴρηται γὰρ δὴ, καὶ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται, τά γ' ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους μηδένων εἶναι χείρους, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ βελτίους'. See Bessarion, ed. Migne (1866) 453, 482. See also Bessarion, ed. Migne (1866) 453, 482. In the Latin text, Bessarion says in the third person plural that 'the Greeks departed from the truth of the faith' ('Graeci … ab intemerata fidei veritate secesserunt'), while in the Greek text he states that (among other things) 'the division from the Catholic Church was for us the mother of all these calamities' ('ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας διαίρεσις τῶν συμφορῶν τούτων ἡμῖν ἐχρημάτισε μήτηρ').

[448] Binner (1980) 4.

[449] Binner (1980) 237: '… eine Lösung analog der von 1204 hätte er als persönliche Schmach empfunden und mußte schon von daher die Wiedererrichtung der griechischen Kaisermacht fordern'.

Palaeologan claims to Greek territories against Italian claims.[450] But this does not tell us much about how exactly he envisioned a liberated Greece after a successful crusade. Things are complicated even further by the fact that Bessarion was sufficiently realistic to realise that the partition of regained lands would not allow for an easy re-establishment of some kind of Greek monarchy.[451]

Several passages from Bessarion's oeuvre have been adduced to prove that he was preoccupied with achieving political autonomy for the Greeks, and really aimed at a political and not just a cultural restoration of the Greek empire.[452] In fact, these passages from Bessarion's oeuvre produce more questions than conclusive answers about what the cardinal really envisioned in terms of political restoration. In a letter to pope Pius II, written after his mission to Venice in 1463, Bessarion prophesied that the *pristina libertas* of his fatherland would be restored, a term he also put into the mouth of Saint Andrew in a speech delivered a year earlier (on which see above).[453] In connection with this, Bessarion claimed that the 'natio Graeca' had lost its 'imperium' in his *Encyclica ad Graecos* (1463). This has been taken to imply that he wanted to restore the 'pristina libertas' and the 'imperium' of the 'natio Graeca'.[454] But more questions emerge. What was this 'natio Graeca' that had apparently possessed one single 'imperium'? As Bessarion himself experienced, the Hellenes had been dispersed over many polities and territorial realms even before 1453. Furthermore, how did he conceptualise this 'imperium' geographically and politically? And what did *pristina libertas* mean for Bessarion? Did it refer to the Greeks under the Roman (read Byzantine) empire, or to the Greek world before it was conquered by the Macedonians and later the Romans? The previous sections demonstrated that Bessarion understood the Hellenes as an ethno-cultural community that could survive in different political contexts. Even if he

[450] So, for instance, in 1462, Bessarion intervened with the pope in order to avoid that Thomas Palaeologus would lose Monemvasia to the benefit of an Italian governor (see Bessarion, ed. Mohler 1942c: 509).

[451] This appears, for example, from the fact that at the *Reichstag* in Vienna (1461) Bessarion stressed that it was too early to discuss the partition of reconquered lands and added that this would ultimately be in the hands of the emperor with the pope. Cf. Binner (1980) 233.

[452] Binner (1980) 235-236.

[453] Bessarion, ed. Mohler (1942c) 526.

[454] Bessarion, ed. Migne (1886) col. 481: 'Nunc vero (heu infelicem, et miseram patriae nostrae conditionem) non modo principatum, atque imperium orbis amisimus, verum etiam servitutem patimur'.

referred to the restoration of the Greek *corporum libertas* and *pristina libertas* he did nowhere imagine the ethno-cultural community of Hellenes in one single body politic.[455]

While the passages themselves do not tell us anything decisive about Bessarion's views on the future of his fatherland, there are objections to the idea that Bessarion really saw an independent and homogeneously Greek polity of some sort in the near future, and these also apply to Janus Lascaris. First, both Bessarion and Lascaris were diplomats who well knew the political aspirations of all those involved in a potential liberation of the Greeks. If only for this reason, it is inconceivable that they sincerely thought that a crusade would restore a Greek kingdom of the kind Chalkokondyles had in mind when he wrote his history. During Bessarion's stay in Venice in 1463–1464 (where he coordinated the Venetian-papal preparation for the crusade), the cardinal notably adopted the name 'Bessarion Venetus' instead of the more usual 'Bessarion Nicaenus'. As John Monfasani has argued, in so doing the cardinal 'showed that he accepted the consequences of that perception and had identified himself with any future Venetian hegemony. As patriarch of Constantinople, he would embody in his very person and name the new Greco-Venetian Greece promised by the new crusade'.[456]

In conjunction with this, there is another objection. Neither Bessarion nor Lascaris thought of the West as a real threat to the integrity of their 'γένος' or 'natio' in the manner the Byzantines of the thirteenth century had done. The religious hostilities that had characterised the interaction of Byzantines and Latins in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade were irrelevant to the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy as they sympathised with the union of the churches and participated in the intellectual culture of Italian cultural centres. Moreover, if we look at Bessarion's explicit views on Greco-Roman relations and his ideas on Hellenic freedom, there is no reason to assume that he saw Latin domination as an impediment to Greek freedom at all. His *Encomium to Trebizond* rather provided arguments to legitimise such a situation. Just like their Roman ancestors the Italians were amicable to the Greek language and Greek literature. Especially the Venetians were hospitable to the Greeks so that Bessarion chose it as his 'second fatherland' and called it a second Byzantium. In other words, if Latin-Venetian rule in

[455] Beck (1960) 88-89 convincingly rejected the idea that Bessarion favoured the idea of a national Greek state in his letter to Constantine Palaeologus. In the letter, he depicted the despot not as a national king of the Hellenes, but as an imperialist who would regain his rights on Asia and liberate Europe with the help of the Peloponnesians.

[456] See Monfasani (1986) 132-136. On the relation between Bessarion and Venice see now Ronchey (2008a).

the Greek-speaking world would be the outcome of a crusade, the Greeks would be able to maintain at least their freedom of 'ψυχή' and 'γνώμη' just as the Trapezuntines had maintained theirs under Roman rule for over 1,500 years.

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In this chapter, I have shown that Bessarion created a strong sense of continuity with the ancient Greek past not only for the benefit of his personal genealogy or to bolster the prestige of his native city of Trebizond. His creation of continuity with ancient Greece in fact underpinned an ethno-cultural identification with the Greeks that resisted the political and dynastic fragmentation of the Greek world both shortly before and after the fall of Constantinople, the Morea and Trebizond. In addition to this, I demonstrated that his view on Hellenic freedom gives ideological coherence to his effort to conserve and disseminate Greek learning. Moreover, Bessarion's own contribution to the preservation of the Greek heritage placed him in a continuous Hellenic tradition so that he embodied the values of his Atheno-Trapezuntine ancestors. At the same time, however, his role as protector of the Greeks and perpetuator of the Greek heritage sat uneasily with his role as a Roman cardinal. Therefore, in his Latin works, written from the vantage point of a Roman cardinal, he often dissimulated his connection with the Greeks and their past. This is indicative of a certain degree of cultural unease with his own Greekness in Latin contexts even though in his Trapezuntine *Encomium* Bessarion regarded the Romans as a friendly people.

In the next chapter, I will examine the Hellenism of George Trapezuntius of Crete. While Bessarion's Hellenism has been highlighted even where it was most conspicuously absent (i.e. in his *Orationes contra Turcas*), Trapezuntius' Hellenism has been downplayed in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. A reexamination of his works will prove that ancient Greece was as central to his eccentric thought as it was to Bessarion's, even though they represented the role of the Hellenes in past and present in very different and sometimes even opposed ways.

Chapter 4

The Greek Tradition as a Combat Zone

Greece is both the mother of the civilised world and the origin of worldwide moral decline. Its language spread the evil message of paganism all over the world, but also prepared it for the word of God. It produced evil monsters such as Plato and Theodore Gaza, but also paragons of human genius like Aristotle and Isidore of Kiev. The Greeks dwelled both on the highest peaks of civilisation and in the deepest caves of immorality.

These statements do not reflect the conflicting beliefs and opinions of quarreling Byzantines. They are the opinions of one man, George Trapezuntius of Crete.[457] He was the first prominent Byzantine scholar to settle in Italy in 1416 after Manuel Chrysoloras' departure in 1400.[458] At the invitation of Franciscus Barbarus he first settled in Venice, but from there moved on to Vicenza, Rome and Naples. From his early twenties until his death in 1473 he worked as translator, teacher, writer of a wide-ranging humanist oeuvre, and prophet. His Italian life was dominated by some famous quarrels, not only with Andreas Agaso whom he believed to be Guarinus, but also with Aurispa and Poggius (with the latter he famously fought in the Roman Chancery).[459] Trapezuntius greatly

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[457] About Greece see, e.g., Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Ti^{v} where he stated: '…Graecia, bonorum morum domicilium scientiarumque patria, militiae columen, uere in Christum pietatis certissimum specimen…' *['the home of good customs, the fatherland of the sciences, the summit of warfare, and a model of Christian piety']*, and Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 406 (§107). On Plato, Aristotle and Gemistos Plethon see below. On Isidore of Kiev see Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Qii^{v}. On Alexander's empire as part of the *praeparatio evangelica* see below. On the Greeks at the top and in decline see Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Qi^{v}: 'Quare sicut apud alias gentes pauciores semper boni fuerunt, plures mali, sic apud Graecos plures pessimi omnium, pauciores sublimiore virtute quam natura hominum patitur, fuisse compertum est'. Cf. Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Pv^{r} and Pvii^{r}. In his address to pope Nicholas V (*Ad defendenda pro Europa Hellesponti claustra*), Trapezuntius is quite clear that the Greeks deserved their destruction: Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984m) 437 (§§10-11).

[458] Together with Bessarion Trapezuntius is among the few Byzantines who received thorough scholarly attention. A biography of Trapezuntius, and a study of his logic and rhetoric, can be found in Monfasani (1976). An overview of the 447 manuscripts that contain his work, a partial edition of his works, is Monfasani (1984b). For a very short overview of his life with concise bibliography see Harris (2000g).

[459] See Monfasani (1976) 109-111. The amusing suggestion that Trapezuntius fought out a pugilistic battle in the theatre of Pompey (Shepherd 1837: 114) must be a misinterpretation of Laurentius Valla's Latin text (which is cited in Monfasani 1976: 109 n. 71).

contributed to the increasing knowledge of ancient Greek literature, especially via his translations into Latin, but he is best known for his rhetorical magnum opus, the first systematic rhetorical handbook of the humanist age, and for his polemical comparison of Aristotle and Plato in the Aristotle-Plato controversy.[460]

Trapezuntius' case is a telling example of how modern viewpoints have coloured our interpretation of how Byzantine intellectuals viewed their relation with the Greek world. Because of his early move to Italy, his conversion to the Roman church (probably in the early 1420s), and his fluency in Latin it has been argued that after he settled in Italy he cut ties with his fatherland and felt himself to be a Latin rather than a Greek. In this interpretation, his Greekness was a rhetorical brush to catch the benevolence of his fellow Greeks.[461] This impression has been fuelled by the fact that in the later years of his life, Trapezuntius addressed several dedications and treatises to Mehmet the Conqueror to invite them to world dominion, which obviously sits uneasily with modern notions of Greek patriotism.[462]

In this chapter, I will revise the idea that ancient Greece was only of minor importance in Trapezuntius' self-representation. In order to do so, I will first explore in detail the way he used the Greek rubric in different works to identify himself and others, and to motivate his behaviour and commitments. In this way, I will demonstrate that Trapezuntius did anything but abandon his Greekness in Italy. To give more substance to this, I will subsequently illustrate the central role of ancient Greece in his thought by reconstructing the complex way he looked at the Greeks in history. Although he was among the first humanists who wrote about writing history,[463] Trapezuntius did not write a history of the Greeks himself. Still, we may gauge his views on the Greek tradition from a polemical work of philosophy, namely his *Comparatio philosophorum*

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[460] Here as elsewhere I follow Monfasani's suggestion to call George of Trebizond George Trapezuntius of Crete, Trapezuntius for short (Monfasani 1976: 5).

[461] Irmscher (1964) 362-363 (n.b. without discussion of the *Comparatio*).

[462] In the wake of John Monfasani's monograph on Trapezuntius especially his rhetoric has received ample attention. Monfasani has particularly contributed to the accessibility of his works not only by offering many of them in critical editions, but also by localising over 400 manuscripts and editions with his works. See apart from Monfasani (1976) on Trapezuntius' rhetoric also more recently Calboli Montefusco (2010, 2008, 2003), Merino Jerez (2007a, 2007b), Guerra (2004), Cox (2003), Grau (2003), Mañas Núñez (2000), Hinojo (2000), Classen (1993), D'Ascia (1989), Monfasani (1983a). On other aspects of his work and thought see, most recently, Steiris (2011a, 2011b, 2010, 2009), Ruocco (2003), Pontani (1992c).

[463] See Merino Jerez (2007a) for an edition, Spanish translation and concise study of the section from his rhetorical handbook.

Aristotelis et Platonis (ca. 1458), which is the main source for the paradoxes cited at the beginning of this chapter.[464] Although the *Comparatio* is not a work of history but a philosophical argument, it reads more as a rhetorical invective in a series of essayistic comparisons between Aristotle and Plato than as a stringent and linear philosophical argument.[465] By revealing Trapezuntius' views on the Greeks in history, this chapter adds a more idiosyncratic way of how the Byzantine scholars in Italy could represent the role of the Greeks in history. The chapter as a whole further substantiates Monfasani's repeated observation that Trapezuntius did not discard his Hellenism, but was a Greek patriot in his own right.[466] At the same time, it tries to be more specific about what this 'in his own right' means in Trapezuntius' case.

The Greekness of George Trapezuntius of Crete

The dominant view on Trapezuntius' Hellenism has been that, after his move to Italy, he cut all ties with his Greek homeland and abandoned his Hellenism. Trapezuntius indeed professed that his Greek was not good,[467] and emphasised that he felt alienated from his fellow Greeks as they strayed away from the Roman Church.[468] Writing as a Roman Catholic Trapezuntius could use the word 'Graeci' to denote the adversaries of the

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[464] I will focus on his Comparatio and the works most intimately connected with its central argument. These are chiefly Trapezuntius' slightly earlier criticism of Gaza's translation of Aristotle's *Problemata* (his treatise *Adversus Theodorum Gazam*) and his later letter to Bessarion regarding the cardinal's response to the *Comparatio* (his famous *In calumniatorem Platonis*, tacitly directed against Trapezuntius). For Trapezuntius' *Comparatio*, I have used the Venetian 1523-edition (entitled the *Comparationes phylosophorum* [sic] *Aristotelis et Platonis*) by De Leuco. A modern Greek translation of the first book is by Malliou (2006), while John Monfasani is currently preparing an edition with English translation of the entire work.

[465] Cf. Monfasani (2008) 15. Even though it was composed in Latin, Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* did not reach a wide Latin audience. See on its reception generally Monfasani (2008).

[466] Monfasani (1976) 22, 80, 128-131, 136.

[467] See Trapezuntius, ed. Migne (1866) 896; ed. Monfasani (1984f) 283 ('νῦν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶς γράφω, καίτοι γε μὴ καλῶς ἔχων τὸν Ἕλληνα λόγον'). Maybe this was only a *topos* of modesty appropriate to an expatriate Greek from Venetian Crete addressing the emperor in the centre of Byzantine Hellenism.

[468] In an oration for the papal court in Bologna (1437), Trapezuntius told his audience that he was vexed by the Greeks because of their aversion to the Roman Church (Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani 1984i: 351-352 = §§2-3). Trapezuntius equally emphasised the dissociation elsewhere. In a letter to Eugen IV (1436), for example, he said that although he was born from Greek parents, he eventually did not follow their erroneous beliefs (see Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani 1984c: 196 = §13). See also Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984c) 193 (§1), where he expressed his hope that 'his people' would be soon reunited with the Roman Church.

'Latini' or 'Catholici'.[469] On the other hand, he continued to refer to the Greeks as 'his people' (*gens, genus, natio*) and did not refrain from proudly calling himself a 'Graecus'.[470] By the same token, 'Graecia' was Trapezuntius' fatherland (*patria*) besides Crete, even if its exact location remained typically vague.[471]

Trapezuntius himself almost invariably signed his works as 'Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis', referring both to his Trapezuntine and Cretan backgrounds.[472] Although his ancestors had come from Trebizond, he himself never reminisced about the city since his native island was Crete, and man naturally is most attached to his own birthplace. 'I apparently never see that Pontic city in my dreams, nor some Cappadocian monster', Trapezuntius claimed, 'but I very often dream of the walls of my Cretan city, where I was

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[469] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984m) 437 (§12): 'Ego tamen, siquis mihi optionem daret Grecusne esse malim an Machumetista eaque conditio afferretur ut necesse esset vel in opinione Grecorum, quam rectam non esse fateor, vel in Machumet impietate mori, crucem domini nostri amplexus acceptisque sacramentis ecclesie more Greco quam libentissime quasi Grecus spiritum emitterem'. Elsewhere Trapezuntius equally used 'Gaecus' in the restricted sense of Byzantine orthodox especially in opposition to the Latin Christians. See, for example, Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984c, 1984e, 1984h, 1984m *passim* and 266, §21 among the Armenians, Syrians or 'Iacobitae', and Ethiopians). In Greek, Trapezuntius used 'Γραῖκος' for which see, e.g., Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984q) 570 in addition to Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984p) 529. It seems that at least once the itch of polemics propelled him to present Greekness and Christianity as mutually exclusive. Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942) 303: 'nemo est Graecus qui Christianus esse arbritretur'. Monfasani (1984b) 416 *ad* 303.2 corrected Mohler's reading 'Christianus' into 'Christianos' on the basis of a more accurate collation (see on the details Monfasani 1984: 411-414). With this correction accepted the line states that 'nobody is (a) Greek who believes that there are Christians'. To me this seems to boil down to the idea that, in terms of worldview, a Greek is defined by the fact that he does not recognise Christians.

[470] Trapezuntius (1523), fol. Qi^{r} ('gens nostra'); Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984c) 193 (§1: 'reductio totius generis mei', 'universo Grecorum generi'); Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984i) 351 (§2: 'universo Grecorum, hoc est meo, generi'); Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b [1469]) 166 (§ 16: 'dedecus generi nostro inuritur'); ed. Monfasani (1984k) 383 (§8), 406 (§105: 'Grecam nationem'); ed. Monfasani (1984m) 435 (§1: 'generis coniunctione (Grecus enim sum) …'); ed. Monfasani (1976) 341 (§1: 'neminem, credo, fugit eorum qui me norunt, Grecum me esse et in insula Creta natum …').

[471] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 406-407 (§§105-110) where he apostrophised Greece as his 'patria'. Note also that Trapezuntius used the geographical idea of 'Grecia', however without specifying it geographically. See Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984i) 357 (§26: 'ex Italia … ad totam Greciam').

[472] The traditional idea that Trapezuntius was ashamed of his Cretan background (preferring his remote Trapezuntine origin instead) can be discarded with certainty. On the traditional idea that Trapezuntius preferred to dissimulate his Cretan origin see Monfasani (1967) 5.

born, its gates, its market, its churches, its harbour, its houses, both when I am awake and in my sleep'.[473] In his preface to Sultan Mehmet II for the *Isagoge* to Ptolemy's *Almagest* (1465–1466), he further specified that he was 'a Trapezuntine by ancestry ('ἐκ τῶν προγόνων'), but a Cretan by birth ('γεννήσει') and upbringing ('ἀνατροφῇ')'.[474] While his ancestry linked him with Trebizond, the island of Crete was his personal *patria*, connected with the main events of his life (birth, education, marriage, and fatherhood), as he not only emphasised in his *Comparatio*, but also in his autobiographical excursus in one of his astrological treatises.[475] So, his self-identification as a Trapezuntine and Cretan are largely biographical. His Greekness, on the other hand, transcended the level of biographical memories and the sphere of family history or familial genealogy. Trapezuntius' identification as a Greek and with the Greeks appealed both to ethnic and cultural loyalties that connected him with a larger imaginary community of 'Graeci', and with the cultural heroes of the ancient Greek past. Even so, Trapezuntius did not offer the framework to connect all different elements that converge in his composite conception of Greekness. Therefore, I can only summarise the main usages of the Greek rubric and its applications without relating them to each other in any definitive manner. Still, this will suffice to understand that Greekness was very important in Trapezuntius' self-representation, not only when he addressed fellow Greeks, but also when he turned to a Latin audience.

What being a 'Graecus' could mean for Trapezuntius appears, for instance, from the *lotta* with Agaso that I discussed at the end of chapter 2. In his rhetorical magnum opus

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[473] See Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Ri^{r}-Ri^{v}: 'Audiui ego a parente meo proauum suum ex Trapezunta nescio qua Ponti urbe in Cretam migrasse, nunquam ponticam urbem illam, aut Cappadociae monstrum aliquid uidere somnio uisus sum, at urbis Cretensis, ubi natus sum, saepius moenia, portas, forum, templa, portum, aedes et dormiens et uigilans somnio. Non igitur iniquissimus esset, siquis me inde quasi Ponticum atque barbarum hominem aut Scytam aut Tracem a uirtute penitus, ut prouerbio dicitur alienum, legibus suis extruderet?'. The theme recurs on fol. Siii^{r}-Siii^{v}.

[474] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984f) 283 ('Γεωργίου τοῦ Τραπεζουντίου ἐκ τῶν προγόνων Κρητὸς δὲ τῇ γεννήσει τε καὶ ἀνατροφῇ …'). Not unimportantly, the title is autographic (cf. the app. crit. in Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani 1984f: 283 *ad loc.*).

[475] See esp. Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1976) 341 (§1): 'Neminem, credo, fugit eorum qui me norunt Grecum me esse et in insula Creta natum atque inde uxore ducta simul cum ipsa et liberis iam triginta quinque ferme annis per alienas nationes proculque a patria invitum errare. Quis enim patriam ubi natus, ubi educatus, unde uxorem duxit, ubi suos habet liberos libens relinqueret?' *[I think that it escapes nobody of those who know me that I am a Greek and that I was born in Crete – where I married my wife and begot children – and that I have strayed for almost thirty five years now along alien nations against my will and far from my fatherland. Who would volunteer to leave behind the fatherland where he was born, educated, married his wife and begot his children?]*.

Trapezuntius had criticised Guarinus of Verona for his Latin; Agaso (whom Trapezuntius believed to be Guarinus) counterattacked by targetting Trapezuntius' Greekness. In response, Trapezuntius sent his letter to 'Guarinus' to his patron Leonello d'Este and proposed to organise a public debate so as to prove his own superiority over the Italian humanist.[476] His introductory letter to Leonello reveals that Trapezuntius interpreted Agaso's slander not only as a depreciation of him personally, but of the Greeks in general. He explained why he felt that he had to react. In his words, he did so 'out of loyalty (*pietas*) both towards [his] father (*pater*) and [his] fatherland (*patria*), because the shrewd man [had] dared to vituperate Greece…'.[477] This confirms that being a 'Graecus' was a matter of patriotic *pietas*. We find Trapezuntius' usage of Greekness to motivate actions and commitments also elsewhere in his works. It seems that it was somehow bound up with his view of the Greeks as a kinship community. When he addressed pope Nicholas V in defence of a crusade, for example, he claimed that he did so because of his connection of kinship ('generis coniunctione') as he was a Greek and because of faith ('fide') as he was a Christian.[478] Interestingly, Trapezuntius also adduced notions of Greekness to explain his behaviour towards others. In his

[476] Monfasani (1976) 31.

[477] George of Trebizond, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 379 (§6): 'Namque modo ei respondimus, non odio aut ira aut quavis alia perturbatione affecti respondimus, sed partim propter utilitatem communem, ne quis Rhetoricorum nostrorum libros, quos posteritati et humanitatis studiis consulentes edidimus, verbis eius deceptus negligat; partim pietate, tum in patrem, tum in patriam, quoniam et Greciam vituperare … callidus homo ausus est' *[I responded to him, not out of hatred or anger did I respond, or affected by some other violent emotion, but partly because of the general advantage, so that no one, deceived by the words of that man, may ignore our* Rhetoricorum libri*, which I published with an eye to posterity and the study of literature; partly [I also responded to him] out of loyalty both towards my father and my fatherland, because that shrewd man dared to vituperate Greece…]*

[478] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984m) 435 (§1): 'Quare … veniam mihi oro sanctitas tua prebeat, maxime quia et generis coniunctione (Grecus enim sum) et fide (quia Christianus) et pietate in te mea, ut dixi, compulsus diutius tacere non potui' *[May Your Holiness therefore please forgive me that I could no longer remain silent, urged by my relation of kinship (as I am a Greek) and my faith (because I am a Christian) and my devotion to You]*. Also in other contexts Trapezuntius referred to shared Greekness. In a letter to pope Eugen IV (1436), for example, he suggested that as a Greek he may contribute to reconcile the Greeks with Rome. See Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984c) 196 (§13). Generally, Trapezuntius recognised multiple 'gentes' among the Christians of which the Greeks were only one. See, e.g., Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984c) 195 (§7): 'Sed illi (non dico Greci tantum, sed omnes gentes que Grecorum errores secute sunt) divino iudicio depressi multi servitutis iugum subierunt'. He mentioned by name the Serbs, Vlachs, and Georgians.

treatise *Adversus Theodorum Gazam* (1456), he recalled that on the occasion of one of his lectures in Rome Gaza had made two stupid observations ('ex amentia quaestiones').[479] He confessed that at the time, he 'had not done, said, or thought anything that would offend Gaza because seemed to be a Greek (*quia Graecus esse videtur*)'.[480] The same treatise moreover shows that for Trapezuntius Greekness entailed certain expectations. Trapezuntius ridiculed Theodore Gaza as 'a Greek by birth (*natione Graecus*), but a barbarian if judged by his customs and talent (*moribus et ingenio barbarus*)'.[481] This can only be an effective insult on the implicit assumption that normally someone is Greek not solely by virtue of his *natio*, but also on account of the *mores* and *ingenium* that Trapezuntius found absent in his opponent. Together these examples show that for Trapezuntius, Greekness was not merely a descriptive rubric, but implied a relation of kinship with fellow Greeks that motivated him to act in their favour, and moreover entailed expectations as regards the character and behaviour of true Greeks.

Apart from this, Trapezuntius' notion of Greekness connected him and his fellow Greeks with the ancient Greeks. In his actual response to Agaso, he tackled his adversary's claim that it was ridiculous that a Greek would teach an Italian a lesson about his Latin. Trapezuntius went out of his way to defend Greece and the Greeks against the insults of their Italian detractor. He primarily attacked an inconsistency in Agaso's misohellenism that was typical to the attitude of Italian humanists in general (chapter 2, pp. 81-95). Agaso simultaneously despised Trapezuntius as a Greek *and* recommended to his Latin audience to read both Aristotle and Demosthenes. 'If you read and approve of the Greeks', Trapezuntius asked pseudo-Guarinus, 'why then do you condemn me as a Greek? If you despise George, who is a Greek, why then do you simultaneously say

[479] On Trapezuntius' criticism of Gaza see in more detail Monfasani (2006a) with particular attention to Trapezuntius' ideas on translation practices (on 275 n. 1 Monfasani announces a new edition of the text that is now only available as Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler 1942: 275-342). For the date of the treatise see Monfasani (1976) 163-165. On the enmity between George Trapezuntius and Gaza see also the letter of the latter to Marcus Barbus (Gaza, ed. Leone 1990: 62-63).

[480] Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942) 275-342, esp. 280 ll. 12-15.

[481] Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942) 277 ll. 20-24: 'Theodorus enim, quidam natione Graecus, moribus et ingenio barbarus, Aristotelis problemata perversione sua nuper evertit funditus atque corrupit, quantumque in ipso est, et hanc philosophiae partem e medio sustulit et auctorem eius Aristotelem tarditatis nota amentiaeque affecit, cum ineptias ei suas attribuerit'. Also elsewhere in his response, George Trapezuntius plays on Gaza's Greekness. See Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942) 280 ll. 12-15; 285 ll. 9-11 ll. 17-30; 320 ll. 10-29.

that Aristotle, Isocrates, Hermogenes, and Demosthenes must be read by the Latins?'[482] The important thing is that Trapezuntius construed it as inconsistent to despise Greeks like himself, but to admire the ancient Greeks at the same time. The obvious implication of this is that there was identity between the fifteenth-century 'Graeci' and the ancient Greeks. Unlike Bessarion, however, Trapezuntius did not explicate exactly what factors constituted this relationship of identity.

Although the relations between these different aspects of his notion of Greekness remain largely implicit, Trapezuntius did articulate a theory about the native qualities of groups. This gives us at least a clue as to how he probably saw the relation between the Greeks and their character, and perhaps also between the ancient Greeks and their fifteenth-century representatives. From an observation in his *Comparatio* we may learn how Trapezuntius saw the mutual relationship between the character or *natura* of groups and their place of origin. In his critique of Plato's social exclusivism in the *Laws*, he restated the (pseudo-)Hippocratean view, later adopted in Aristotle's *Politics* with respect to the Hellenes, that local environment has a decisive impact upon a man's *natura*. In Trapezuntius' view as expressed there, an individual's distinctive bodily and mental features (including virtues and vices) are formed by the 'climate and air' ('coelo ac aere') of his birth place. This explains, for example, why Asian Greeks are generally

[482] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 383 (§8): 'Primum omnium turpissimum esse Latinis a Graeco ais homine rationem dicendi accipere. Deinde tui oblitus non multo post subdis non fuisse mihi deplorandum, si multi maioribus editi de disceptandi ratione codices amissi negligentia sunt, quoniam Aristotelem, Isocratem, Hermogenem, Demosthenemque habeamus. O vere Agasonem, qui, cum a Grecis discere dedignetur, ad Grecos confugiat claraque voce predicare non erubescat dedecori esse Latinis si quicquam ex Greco audiant cum habeant unde discant plerosque Grecie auctores! Nonne pro scriptis rectius nostris id dici videtur? Nam si Grecos legis et probas, cur me quasi Grecum contemnis? Si Georgium, quoniam Grecus est, spernis, cur Aristotelem, Isocratem, Hermogenem, Demosthenem Latinis legendos illico subiungis?' *[First, you say that for Latins it is the most scandalous thing of all to learn the art of speech from a Greek man. Subsequently, forgetful of what you yourself just said, you declare shortly afterwards that I ought not to moan if many manuscripts about the art of disputing published by the ancients are lost due to negligence, because we do have Aristotle, Isocrates, Hermogenes and Demosthenes. O, really, Agaso, who, even though he refuses to learn from Greeks, has recourse to Greeks, and is not ashamed to openly declare that it is a shame for Latins if they learn something from a Greek, even if they have very many authors of Greece from which they learn things! Don't you think that this can be also justly said of my own writings? Because if you read and approve of the Greeks, why do you condemn me as a Greek? If you despise Georgius, who is a Greek, why then do you simultaneously say that Aristotle, Isocrates, Hermogenes, and Demosthenes must be read by the Latins?].* Cf. Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 393 (§ 48).

lenient, Cretans gifted, Africans cunning, Gauls arrogant, and Italians serious.[483] Although Trapezuntius did not apply this theory to the Greeks, the authoritative Aristotelian view was that the Hellenes constituted a perfect mix of features due to their intermediate geographical position.[484] On the assumption that, following Aristotle, Trapezuntius would apply the same logic to the Greeks as to the Gauls and the Italians, it can help us explain why he saw colleagues like Theodore Gaza as anomalies of nature if they did not exhibit the customs and nature typical to 'Greeks by birth'. In this way, it puts into perspective his idea that men like Gaza 'were either not born in true Greece, or (…) [were] monsters of Greece (*monstra Graeciae*) rather than Greeks'.[485] It may also explain his assertion elsewhere that Greece 'produced' (*producere*) the most eminent talents (see below p. 153 with n. 546). If the ancient Greeks stemmed from the same region as the modern 'Graeci', *ceteris paribus*, climatological determinism would logically ensure an identical group nature for both. This would also presuppose a more or less demarcated territory where Greeks would naturally live. However, Trapezuntius did not rationalise his usage of the Greek rubric. Still, the examples adduced suffice to show that his Greekness was not merely a rhetorical strategy to win the sympathy of fellow Greeks,

[483] See Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Ri^{r}-Ri^{v}: 'Cui [urbi ubi nati] natura eorum [filiorum peregrinorum] compacta conformataque est, omnes enim eorum locorum ubi nati sumus coelo ac aere quasi formati, natura quadam et corporis complexione, ac ideo etiam animorum uitio aut uirtute conuenimus. Hinc Asiaticos Graecos lenes, Cretenses ingeniosos, Afros uersutia perditos, Gallos superbia, grauitate Italicos dicimus. Unde fit ut quisque natura ciuis eius ciuitatis sit, ubi natus est. Quare magnus iste mirabilisque philosophus et sacrorum naturae peritus Antistes naturam ipsam suis legibus perimit'. Elsewhere, Trapezuntius proved also sensitive to ethnic stereotypes. In his *De dialectica*, for example, he mentioned the following examples to illustrate certain types of syllogisms: 'Nemo Grecorum Barbarus est; Omnes Graeci mendaces sunt; Ergo quidam mendaces non sunt Barbari' and 'Quidam Germani sunt fortes; Omnes Germanu sunt ebriosi; Ergo quidam fortes sunt ebriosi'. See Trapezuntius (1545) fol. 77 (cf. Monfasani 1984: 473-477).

[484] Environmental determinism was mainly developed in the (pseudo-)Hippocratean *Airs, Waters, Places*. The relevant passage in Aristotle is *Pol.* 1327b23-33, where he claimed that the Hellenes unite the best qualities of all because their intermediate geographical position.

[485] Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942) 284 ll. 20-25: 'Pudet certe me tam pinguia hodie graecorum hominum ingenia inveniri, ut ea rerum vocabula confundi a se non videantur videre, quibus omnia philosophiae fundamenta continentur. Quare aut non in vera Graecia natos dixerim, aut monstra Graeciae magis quam Graecos esse contenderim' *[Surely I am ashamed that today such inept minds are found among the Greeks that they do not seem to understand that those words that denote things, and through which the entire fundaments of philosophy is hold together, are mixed up by them. Therefore I would either say that these men were not born in true Greece, or contend that they are monsters of Greece rather than Greeks]*.

but was a prominent aspect of his self-representation in very different rhetorical contexts, even when he did not even address fellow Greeks at all.

Although in his response to 'quasi-Guarinus' Trapezuntius had defended his *patria* Greece against detractors, with his *Comparatio* he himself wrote a sharp critique of the Greek tradition in which he saw himself and his fellow Greeks. Such cultural self-critique is in itself nothing notable from the mouth of a post-Byzantine. Although the post-Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy were generally convinced of their cultural superiority, criticism of the present-day Greeks was not unusual even among them. Especially the cultural decline of the Greeks and the fall of their empire were foci of criticism. The opinion that the Byzantine Greeks were themselves responsible for their decline and fall was quite common. In his funeral oration for Ecaterina Zaccaria (ca. 1462), for example, George Hermonymus blamed the Byzantines' own wickedness for their decline.[486] Michael Marullus asserted that the fall of Constantinople was the result of the fact that the Greeks had not sufficiently relied on their own military vigour.[487] Even so, such criticism of contemporary Greeks is generally incidental and sometimes perhaps even aimed at securing the benevolence of a Latin audience. Trapezuntius' Hellenocriticism, on the other hand, explained the misery of contemporary Greece as the direct result of the classical Greek tradition, more specifically of one of its protagonists, viz. Plato. The next section will show how Trapezuntius' views on the role of the Greeks in history confirm our impression of his identification with the Greeks above; we need to revise the idea that ancient Greece and the Greeks were negligible entities in Trapezuntius' thought.

Trapezuntius' Comparatio *and its immediate context*

Trapezuntius' *Comparatio philosophorum* formed part of a heated debate that Byzantine scholars imported from Byzantium. The central question was whether and (if so) how Platonic philosophy could take the place of Aristotelianism as the handmaid of Christian theology.[488] As the problem was a bequest of Byzantium, it was first only discussed

[486] See Hermonymus, ed. Lambros (1930) 271-273. Note that Hermonymus called his addressees 'remaining Romans' ("Ρωμαίων οἱ περιλειπόμενοι') instead of Hellenes. On the scribal and teaching activities of Charitonymos and George Hermonymus see now Kalatzi (2009).

[487] *Ep.* 3.37.25-30. References are to Marullus, ed. Perosa (1951).

[488] Hankins (1990) 216-217. For an overview of the controversy and Trapezuntius' position in it see Monfasani (1976) 201-229. On George Trapezuntius and Platonism see Hankins (1990) 165-192.

among Byzantine scholars.[489] Debates had been stirred by the circulation of Plethon's *De differentiis Aristotelis et Platonis* (1439), probably conceived in Italy during the Council of Florence, but worked out back in Mistra. In the book, Plethon laid out the differences between Aristotle and Plato in an attempt to prove the superiority of the latter. The publication of his book prompted critical responses of both supporters and opponents of Plethon's views, and most of the early refugees in Italy participated in it, e.g. Theodore Gaza, Nicolaus Secundinus, and Michael Apostoles.[490] Of all the treatises produced in the context of this debate, the works of Trapezuntius and Bessarion are now the best known. Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* is mainly known for provoking Bessarion's much-read *In Calumniatorem Platonis* that grew steadily with the help of his Roman circle in the decade after Trapezuntius' book was published in manuscript (it eventually appeared in print more than fifty years ahead of the *Comparatio* in 1469).[491]

In the *Comparatio*, Trapezuntius defended Aristotle's philosophy against Plato's. As we shall see, one of the arguments running through the book is that Plato and his followers had not only caused the Christian schism and the fall of the Greeks, but also the impending doom for the Christian West due to the rise of Islam. If the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had been the divine punishment for the Greek schism,[492] the schism itself was the outcome of a millenary process of Platonic corruption as was Mohammed and Islam.[493] In his *Calumniator*, Bessarion in response tried to harmonise the ancient philosophers both with each other and with the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. As James Hankins observed, the cardinal's book was not only a rebuttal of Trapezuntius' anti-Platonist tract, but also 'a defence of the Greek heritage *latè sumpta*'.[494] Although this is true, it must be stressed that, inversely, Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* was not a misohellenist depreciation of the Greek heritage broadly

[489] Pontani (1992c) 164-165, 166; Monfasani (1976) 228-229; Delbosco (2008) 27-31.
[490] Hankins (1990) 205-217 offers a clear introduction to the complex affair. See also Schulz (2010) for the parts played by Plethon, Bessarion, and Trapezuntius in particular.
[491] The *Calumniator*, originally composed in Greek, was further developed with the help of Bessarion's study group in Rome and was eventually translated into Latin by, or with the help of, Nicolaus Perottus. On Bessarion's Latinity and the *In Calumniatorem Platonis* see esp. Monfasani (1981), (1983). See also Monfasani (2008) for the text history of Bessarion's work. For an analysis of Bessarion's own Latin translation of the *Calumniator* see Monfasani (forthcoming). On his Platonism and the *In Calumniatorem* generally see Hankins (1990) 217-263 and Todt (2006).
[492] Cf. Trapezuntius, ed. Mercati (1943) 94.
[493] Monfasani (1976) 149, 183.
[494] Hankins (1990) 233.

speaking.[495] He maintained the basic idea of Greek superiority, but this was not based on the Greek legacy *tout court*. Although he emphasised that Plato was the tool of the Antichrist, he equally stressed that ancient Greece before Plato had been a morally upright country and Aristotelian philosophy was fully consistent with Christian doctrine or even foreshadowed it.

In his view on the Platonic tradition, it seems that Trapezuntius combined various strands of anti-Platonism into one coherent apocalyptical narrative that he developed throughout his comparisons between Plato and Aristotle. The *Comparatio* in fact offers a 'compendium of the entire tradition of Western anti-Platonism from Aristotle to Leonardo Bruni'.[496] Trapezuntius indeed criticised Plato for the three major issues in this tradition: obscurity, moral perversity, and theological inconsistency.[497] Also in the Byzantine East, there was an important body of heresiological literature comprising extensive lists and classifications of heresies that traced some of them directly back to Plato.[498] Yet to my knowledge none of these anti-Platonic traditions produced a narrative in which Platonic corruption progressively led from Athens via Rome, Constantinople and Islam to the writer's present. Although it is beyond my present scope to pinpoint the exact textual basis for Trapezuntius' individual criticisms, it seems that he adopted elements of the anti-Platonist tradition that existed in both East and West and extended these to cover a wider range of deviance from the Aristotelian-Roman norm as he perceived of it. What brought him to see the individual criticisms of the Platonic tradition into one coherent story was his prophetic and apocalyptical

[495] On the text history Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* see Monfasani (2008). The only printed text available is the 1523 edition of the *Comparatio*. Despite the fact that this is not an authoritative text, I decided with Pontani (1992c) 150 to rely on it in eager expectation of John Monfasani's critical edition Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* (announced in Monfasani 2008: 4 n. 20). On its text history see now Monfasani (2008) and the introduction to his forthcoming edition. Trapezuntius' work consists of three substantial chapters or books. The first discusses the learning of Plato and Aristotle; the second investigates their ideas against the backdrop of Christian doctrine; the third finally looks at both philosophers from a moral point of view. In all three, Aristotle surpassed Plato on all counts.

[496] Hankins (1990) 1: 237.

[497] Hankins (1996).

[498] It would merit a self-standing investigation as to what degree Trapezuntius was indebted to the Byzantine tradition. If it could be shown that Trapezuntius also used Byzantine heresiological literature to construct his view on the Platonic tradition (e.g. Epiphanios' *Panarion* or John of Damascus' heresiological list), this would put him in an interesting and complicated position with Byzantine heresiology.

mindset in which the events in history were the direct outcome of conscious beliefs and actions.[499]

Over a period of at least 30 years before he composed the *Comparatio*, Trapezuntius had already expressed his apocalyptic visions on various occasions, ably adapting the details of his prophecies to the ever-altering circumstances.[500] By the time he wrote his *Comparatio* in the mid-1450s, he believed that the fall of Constantinople had definitively signalled that the end of times was impending, and that the Apostasy had already started in Rome.[501] More than elsewhere, in the *Comparatio* he wove the Greeks into this cosmic drama. To do so, he worked a historical narrative through his detailed comparisons between Plato and Aristotle. He made both philosophers with their respective followers the main historical agents in the history of Hellenism. While Plato and the 'Platonici' represented everything bad, heretic and eastern, Aristotle and his adherents embodied everything good, orthodox and western.[502] Unlike the Platonists, the Aristotelians had always either paved the way for Christianity, or promoted the Latin Church and the Union. This is an extremely Hellenocentric piece of apocalyptic history that is difficult to reconcile with the idea that for Trapezuntius ancient Greece had become irrelevant. In what follows, I will piece together his narrative of Platonic decline and Aristotelian progress. As he did not write a continuous chronological story, what follows is not so much a summary or paraphrase as it is a reconstruction of the narrative he himself worked quite loosely through his argument.

Enemies from within: Plato and the Platonists

Trapezuntius created a basic caesura between Greece before and Greece after Plato, between *prisca Graecia* or pristine Greece, and *Platonica Graecia* or Platonic Greece.[503] *Prisca Graecia* was an idealised country governed by legendary kings and lawgivers such

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[499] Cf. Hankins (1990) 172.

[500] For the development and (principally biblical and Byzantine) sources of Trapezuntius' prophetic and apocalyptical views see Monfasani (1976) 35, 49-53, 87-103, 128-136, 140-141, 149, 155, 159, 183-184, 188, 199, 221-225. Relevant texts for the subject are Trapezuntius (1523), Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984c, 1984e, 1984i, 1984l, 1984m, 1984p, 1984q) and a letter to Bessarion in Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942b).

[501] Monfasani (1976) 129-136.

[502] Cf. Garin (1973b) 115.

[503] Cf. Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Ri^{v}, Rii^{r} , Sv^{r}. Sviii^{r}, Ti^{v}. Elsewhere Trapezuntius hailed Greece along the same lines as the inventor of all arts. See Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984k) 406 (§107).

as Draco and Solon, Minos and Lycurgus, Laius and Rhadamanthys.[504] The pristine Greeks intuitively lived largely in compliance with Christian morality. The fifth-century Athenian Cimon, Themistocles, Miltiades, and Pericles were later representatives of this morally still upright Greece and they received special attention in the treatise. In a separate section, Trapezuntius commemorated these Four Heroes and recalled how they had established Athens as the centre of the Greek world. He particularly stressed their role in the defence of Greece against Persian invasions and claimed that without them the 'Greek people' (*Graecorum gens*) would have perished well before 1453.[505] Importantly, Trapezuntius explained that his hate for Plato had first emerged when he realised that the Athenian philosopher had written offensively about these four national heroes. In the *Gorgias*, according to Trapezuntius, Plato had dared to call the 'parents of the customs of ancient Greece' and 'the liberators of Greece' not only seducers but also smooth-talkers.[506] He was so appalled by Plato's lack of respect for his own fatherland and ancestors that he decided to hate him forever.[507]

Trapezuntius' golden age of *prisca Graecia* existed roughly from the time of Minos until the end of the fourth century BC when Plato's teaching eventually began to take effect.[508] In his discussion of the *Phaedrus*, Trapezuntius represented the eponymous conversation partner of Socrates dramatically at the turning point of Greek (and world) history.[509] In his account, Phaedrus was a modest Athenian boy, educated according to 'the discipline of ancient Greece' ('sub disciplina Graeciae veteris educatus'), and

[504] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Svii^{v}, Sviii^{r} (Draco and Solon), Qiii^{r} (Minos and Lycurgus), Siv^{v}, Tv^{r} (Laius and Rhadamanthys).

[505] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Pi^{v}-Pii^{r}. Elsewhere Trapezuntius referred to the Greeks as 'our people' ('gens nostra', fol. Qi^{v}).

[506] Trapezuntius regarded Cimon, Themistocles, Miltiades, and Pericles as the fathers of Greece. See, for instance, Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Ovi^{r} ('morum ueteris Graeciae parentes', 'liberatores Graeciae'); Oviii^{r} ('principes totius Graeciae'), Oviii^{v} ('sancti uiri', 'rei militaris principes', 'summi imperatores' versus 'seductores', 'rhetores'), Pi^{r} ('liberatores patriae, lumina Graeciae, pudoris custodes, fortitudinis columen, hostium terror, bonorum tutores, quattuor fulmina belli'), Pi^{v} ('parentes patriae', 'heroes semidei'). Trapezuntius castigated Plato for his attitude towards the four heroes of Athens in a separate section entitled 'De inuidia et obtrectatione Platonis in quattuor uiros saluatores Graeciae' (fols. Ov^{v}-Pii^{r}).

[507] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Ov^{v}.

[508] It appears that some saw Minos as the first attested Hellene. Cf. Apostoles, ed. Stefec (2010) 142 ('Μίνως … παλαίτατος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν Ἑλλήνων'). Note that elsewhere, Trapezuntius referred to Greece as still 'flourishing' at the time of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great. See Trapezuntius, ed. Mercati (1943) 88, 90 ('Graecia florens').

[509] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Nv^{r}-Nvi^{v}.

typically preferring death over unchastity. The city of Athens, on the other hand, had fallen into decline as it strayed from the 'pristine mores of the Athenians' ('priscae Atheniensium mores') and was full of predatory lovers cruising young boys. Therefore, Phaedrus left the city for the countryside in order to avoid them and encountered Socrates on his way. In Trapezuntius' rendering of the story, Plato's mouthpiece advanced an argument in praise of *voluptas* as the absolute prerequisite for a happy life, a theme that recurred time and again in Trapezuntius' discussion of Platonism from Epicurus to Mohammed. By so framing Plato's dialogue, Trapezuntius presented Phaedrus as a case in point of how Plato's ideas had begun corrupting the Athenian youth, and by extension all of Greece from where it would spread over the world.

In order to corrupt Athens, Plato introduced new precepts and rules that violated the traditional customs and institutions of his fatherland, especially in his *Laws*, which according to Trapezuntius prefigured the way Plethon would try to corrupt the Greek world almost two millennia later.[510] By inducing his audience to embrace his precepts, Plato first ruined his fatherland morally.[511] Before the advent of Plato Greek culture had generally been characterised by purity of morals, as Phaedrus' case well illustrated.[512] But moral and cultural degeneration gained ground with the spread of Platonism. Before Plato, for example, children did not bathe together with their parents as the pristine Greeks believed that the parents' nudity would undermine their authority.[513] Plato's writings 'first destroyed Greece with their poisonous breath and then swept away all other peoples through the authority and eloquence of Platonic Greece' (*platonica*

[510] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Rii^{r}: 'Plato senex mores et instituta patriae negligens noua, inaudita, incredibilia, repugnantia excogitabat' *[As an old man Plato, showing neglect for the customs and institutes of his fatherland, designed things that were new, unheard of, incredible and repulsive]*. Note that Trapezuntius had translated the *Laws* into Latin in 1450-1451 and dedicated the book first to Nicholas V and then to the Senate of Venice. Cf. Garin (1973b) 115.

[511] Trapezuntius described the destruction of Greece in a separate section with the programmatic title 'Quod Platonis scripta, praecepta, instituta Graeciam perdiderunt'. See Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Svii^{r}-Tiii^{v}. See also Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Miii^{v}-Mv^{v} ('Quod omnis haeretica peruersitas et Grecorum calamitas à Platonis orta est scriptis, ab Aristotelicis contra maxime Latini adiuti sunt'). Plato also tried to impose his precepts outside his fatherland, e.g., on Crete (fol. Pii^{v}).

[512] Trapezuntius used the word 'castimonia' on fol. Sviii^{v}.

[513] In these lines, Trapezuntius stressed chastity, especially among boys. After Plato's influence had spread even to Rome, it was sometimes thought shameful for a boy not to have a lover (fol. Sviii^{v}). Generally, Trapezuntius emphasised Plato's corruption of sexual morals (pederasty) and nuptial customs (polygamy) before anything else. See, for instance, fols. Tv^{r}-Tv^{v}, Tvi^{r}-Tvii^{r} (discussing Epicurus), Vi^{v}-Vii^{v} (discussing Mohammed).

Graecia).[514] Plato's precepts enabled the 'corruptors of good morals' to continue their work,[515] and thus Plato 'planted the roots, sowed the seeds, laid the fundaments of the ruin'.[516]

This is not to say, on the other hand, that pre-Platonic *prisca Graecia* had been wholly free from sources of immorality. Trapezuntius compared immorality to the Hydra, the water-serpent killed by Heracles. Its self-regenerating heads had been cut off by virtuous men like Solon and Lycurgus, but were eventually restored and nourished by Plato's writings. The chief countervailing force was represented by Aristotle and his most famous pupil Alexander the Great. In one of the essays of the *Comparatio* (the eighth of the third book) Trapezuntius defended Alexander against his detractors just as he defended Aristotle in the rest of the volume. The most important point in his argument was that together Aristotle and Alexander the Great had prepared the way for the dissemination of Christian truth and the word of God. The former offered the philosophical concepts to understand nature, while the latter's empire had spread the Greek language all over the world and so enabled all peoples to read and understand Scripture.[517] So, while primeval Greeks such as Minos, Lycurgus and Laius had ruled in the golden age of *prisca Graecia*, and the Four Heroes had established and enlarged Greek civilisation afterwards, Aristotle and Alexander finally made it the basis for biblical revelation.

The orientalisation of Platonism: Islam as a Platonic sect

In Trapezuntius' account throughout the *Comparatio*, Platonism grew like a snowball going down hill. From Athens moral corruption, sanctified by Plato, spread all over Greece, captured the cities of Italy, and extended further into Europe to Gaul. In the

[514] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Tv^{r}: 'Herculeis uiribus Hydrae pestiferum efflantis capita detruncarunt, quae postea Platonis temporibus renata librisque ipsis nutrita, aucta magnarumque uirium facta, primum Graeciam, deinde authoritate ac eloquentia platonicae Graeciae quasi colubri omnes gentes uenenosa afflatu confecerunt' *[With Herculean forces they cut off the heads of the Hydra, breathing out pernicious airs, that revived thereafter in Plato's time, however, and were nourished and strengthened by his very books. They first destroyed Greece like snakes with their poisonous breath, but then on the authority and with the eloquence of Platonic Greece swept away all other peoples].*

[515] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Sviii^{r}-Sviii^{v}.

[516] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Viiii^{r}: '… [Plato] qui radices plantauit, semina seuit, fundamenta perditionis iecit …'.

[517] Trapezuntius probably derived the idea from Eusebius on which see Pontani (1992c) 169. Monfasani prepares an edition Trapezuntius' Latin translation of Eusebius' *Preparatio evangelica.*

course of his argument, Trapezuntius pointed in passing at some of the protagonists of the Platonic enterprise that had begun in the fourth century BC, but continued to his own days. The three most important advocates of Platonism throughout history were Epicurus, the prophet Mohammed, and Plethon.[518] Through the teaching of Epicurus, whom Trapezuntius called Plato's 'disciple', the civilised world got further corrupted from the time of Plato until that of Nero (AD 68).[519] Afterwards, Plato's influence spread all over the Roman world through other channels, but mainly through the regimes of perverted Roman emperors. Besides emperor Maximinus Thrax (173– 238),[520] emperor Elagabalus (218–222), notorious for his disregard for Roman taboos, implemented a voluptuous regime in Plato's spirit and so corrupted the Romans.[521] Trapezuntius also ridiculed a later Roman emperor who had allegedly said that it was better to use Plato than the Christian gospel as a guide to life, and he explained the loss of provinces to the Arabs under his reign directly by the influence of Plato's writings.[522] According to Trapezuntius, later Plato's ideas were also behind the schismatic forces within the Church, such as Arius (fourth century) and Palamas (fourteenth century). Therefore, Platonism was ultimately responsible for God's indignation towards the Greeks and

[518] Their influence is discussed in the section called 'Quod non Aristoteli sed Epicuro et Machumeto conuenit Plato' (Trapezuntius 1523: fols. Tv^{r}-Tvii^{v}). Mohammed is treated most extensively in the section called 'De Machumeto et quod longe Platone astutior' (Trapezuntius 1523: fols. Tvii^{v}-Vv^{r} with the difference between the two discussed from fol. Vii^{v}). Gemistus' role is explained in the section 'De Gemisto et quod nisi obstes iniciis paruis, magnae plerumque calamitates insequuntur, quae res unius Machumeti patet exemplo' (fols. Vvi^{v}-Xi^{v}).

[519] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Tvi^{r}-Tvi^{v}. According to Trapezuntius, the process was accelerated because the Greek language was commonly known. In Europe, this can be explained both through European familiarity with Greek literature and science, and through the extent of the Roman Empire. In Asia, through the influence of Alexander's Empire in the East.

[520] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Tvii^{r}.

[521] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Sviii^{v}-Ti^{r}. Note that Trapezuntius recalled that Elagabalus was the son of 'a Greek whore' ('meretricis greculae filius', fol. Sviii^{v}).

[522] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Ti^{r}-Ti^{v}. The unidentified emperor is qualified as a 'Roman emperor or rather a lascivious Greekling' ('Romanus quidam imperator aut potius leuis graeculus', fol. Ti^{r}). As Trapezuntius claimed that at the time of this emperor's reign Syria (637) and Egypt (641) fell to the Arabs (fol. Ti^{v}), it would seem that he referred to emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641) who introduced Greek as the official language of the Roman Empire, and was the first to adopt the Greek title 'βασιλεύς' instead of the romanising 'αὔγουστος'. However, on fols. Vviii^{r}-Vviii^{v} Trapezuntius called Heraclius the most Christian emperor ('Heracli[us] romanorum imperat[or] qui cultu Christi, omnes imperatores superauit') and lavishly praised the emperor for his pro-Christian politics.

their Church and in the last analysis also for the destruction of Constantinople.[523] While the Latin West safeguarded Artistotelian philosophy, the Byzantine empire got increasingly corrupted via the dissemination of Platonic thought. In contrast to the Aristotelian *praeparatio evangelica* Trapezuntius transformed Plato into an oriental enemy seeking to destroy the Latin or rather 'Aristotelian' West via his millenary impact on corruptible souls.

After Platonism had corrupted the entire Greco-Roman world, Plato's influence did not halt. What follows is perhaps the most spectacular idea that sprang from Trapezuntius' apocalyptic mind. He saw the prophet Mohammed as a disciple and imitator of Plato, a 'third Plato' after Epicurus, and even a quasi incarnation of the philosopher.[524] Indoctrinated by a Platonic priest from Alexandria, Mohammed had allegedly purified Plato's philosophy from its most stunning perversions and had added some solid rules of life to it. Then, after uniting Arabia, he had subjected to his doctrine all of Asia, Africa, and even some parts of Europe.[525] He thus posed a more persistent threat to Christendom than Roman emperors such as Nero whose attempts to extirpate the Christians had been checked, or even Plato himself whose laws had in fact never materialised in a concrete polity, but had 'evaporated like a breeze, a shadow or even more in the manner of a dream'.[526] The most dangerous thing about Mohammed's Platonism (i.e. Islam) was that his precepts were endorsed by the most powerful people now on earth, the Ottoman Turks, who threatened the Christian commonwealth.[527] By the time Trapezuntius wrote the *Comparatio*, 'the third Plato' had taken large parts of the East, and not in the last place Constantinople, the bulwark of Christian piety.[528] From there, he now threatened all of Christianity.

These pages of Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* radically invert the usual patterns of humanist thought about the eastern enemy and, more importantly, the enemy's relation

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[523] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Miii^{v}-Mv^{v} ('Quod omnis haeretica peruersitas et Grecorum calamitas a Platonis orta est scriptis, ab Aristotelicis contra maxime Latini adiuti sunt'). The idea that the Greeks had been punished for their schism was voiced often by Trapezuntius. See, e.g., Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984i) 357-358 and Trapezuntius, ed. Mercati (1943) 93-94.

[524] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Tii^{r}, Tvii^{r}, Vvi^{r}, Vii^{v}.

[525] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Tvii^{r}-Tvii^{v} and fols. Viiii^{r}-Viiii^{v}. This priest from Alexandria was an Arian monk. Trapezuntius probably derived this story from George Hamartolos' *Chronicle* or Guibert de Nogent's *Gesta dei per Francos* on which see Monfasani (1976) 158 with n. 121.

[526] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Viiii^{r}.

[527] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Vv^{r}-Vvi^{r} ('Excursio in desidiam Christianorum') draws particular attention to the persistent threat of Islam to the Christian West.

[528] Monfasani (1976) 129-130.

to the civilised Greco-Roman order of things. While Sylvius Piccolomineus, for example, declared that the fall of Byzantium meant a 'second death for Plato', Trapezuntius saw it as a result of Plato's third incarnation. While in Marcus Musurus' famous *Hymn* Plato beseeched the pope in person to liberate his Greek people, in Trapezuntius' imagination Plato and Mohammed sat side by side dreaming about the complete obliteration of Greece and the Christian West.[529] Similarly, in the previous chapter we have already seen how cardinal Bessarion stressed the traditional struggle of western civilisation against eastern barbarism and relegated the enemy to the barren wasteplains that were far beyond the borders of Hellenism and Europe. In his *Orationes contra Turcas*, he depicted the Turks as insatiable barbarians who owed their successes not to their innate qualities, but to the disorganisation of their prey.[530] He placed them on a par with the other 'exterae nationes' that had threatened Europe and Italy in the past and similarly reckoned them among the 'remotae nationes'.[531] For his part, Trapezuntius had similarly depicted Asia as the natural enemy of Europe in his own crusade appeals; he had also represented Greece and the Greeks as the major traditional defence of Europe against Asian aggression.[532] In his speech to pope Nicholas V, for instance, he mentioned Miltiades, Themistocles and Alexander the Great as examples of Greeks who had defended Europe against Asian invasions or had even subjected parts of Asia itself. In his *Comparatio*, however, he blurred this adamant division (that had guided Bessarion's thought) between Asia and Europe, or between Greece and the barbarians. He made the position of Greece in the struggle between East and West ambivalent by insisting that the enemies of Christendom such as the Ottoman Turks were nourished and strengthened by a veritable protagonist of Greek philosophy.

Yet it was not only via Mohammed's teaching that Plato continued to exert his devastating impact on the world. After Plato, Greece once more produced a threat to the Christian world, and this time it came from Sparta instead of Athens. It was Plethon, whom Trapezuntius saw as a 'second Mohammed', a 'disciple of Plato' and even a

[529] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Vv^{r}.

[530] Bessarion (1470) fols. 10^{r}-10^{v} (= Migne 1866: cols. 652-653), 18^{v} (= Migne 1866: col. 659). See also Bessarion's descriptions of Mehmet the Conqueror (Bessarion 1470: 11^{r} = Migne 1866: col. 653; 15^{r} = Migne 1866: cols. 656; 16^{r} = Migne 1866: col. 657; 17^{r} = Migne 1866: col. 658).

[531] Bessarion (1470) fols. 17^{r}-19^{r} (cf. Migne 1866: cols. 658-659), 26^{r} -26^{v} (cf. Migne 1866: col. 665).

[532] See his exhortations to king Alfonso V of Aragon, emperor Frederick III and pope Nicholas V, all composed before the fall of Constantinople. Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984l, 1984m). The orations are discussed in Bisaha (2004) 115-116 and Ravegnani (1975).

'fourth Plato'.[533] Trapezuntius recalled how he had heard Plethon openly reject both Islam and Christianity in favour of paganism at the Council of Florence.[534] In his letter to cardinal Bessarion, he explained the decline and fall of the Greeks directly from Plethon's alleged influence upon the last Byzantine emperor. In Trapezuntius' view, Constantine XI had been fatally affected by Plethon's ideas. In order to substantiate his claim, he referred to an oracle of Apollo regarding the fortification of the Peloponnesus. This curious Greek text (dating from after 1423) circulated among Italian humanists in the second half of the fifteenth century and was rendered into Latin by Cyriac of Ancona, Nicolaus Secundinus, and Bessarion's secretary Nicolaus Perottus.[535] In the oracle, it was prophesied how the Hexamilion Wall (defending the Peloponnesus for invasions from Attica) would be destroyed and restored three times before there would come justice and fortune for the Hellenic people, and the enemies would be finally

[533] Trapezuntius (1523) fols. Vvi^{v}-Vvii^{r}: 'alter Machumetus', 'Platonis et eloquentia et scientia et pietate alumnus' and fol. Xii^{v}: 'quartus iste Plato'.

[534] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Vvii^{r}: 'Audiui ego ipsum Florentiae, uenit enim ad concilium cum Graecis, asserentem unam eandemque religionem, uno animo, una mente, una praedicatione, uniuersum orbem paucis post annis suscepturum. Cumque rogassem Christiane an Machumeti, neutram, inquit, sed non a gentilitate differentem. Quibus uerbis commotus, semper odi, et uenenosam uiperam pertimui, nec uidere aut audire amplius potui. Percepi etiam a nonnullis Graecis, qui ex Peloponneso huc profugerunt, palam dixisse ipsum anteaquam mortem obisset, iam fere triennio, non multis annis post mortem suam et Machumetum et Christum lapsum iri, et ueram in omnes orbis oras ueritatem perfulsuram' *[I heard him in Florence (he had come to the Council with the Greeks) claim that within a few years the whole world would take on one and the same religion with one soul, one spirit, and one confession. And when I asked him whether this religion would be Christian or Mohammedan he answered: neither, but not different from paganism. Disturbed by these words, I always hated him, and I feared the poisonous viper, and I could not see or hear him anymore. From not a few Greeks who came here from the Peloponnesus I learned that he openly said before he died some three years ago that both Mohammed and Christ would lapse not many years after his death, and that the real truth would shine over all coasts of the world].*

[535] The text was first critically edited by Lambros (1905) 475-476 with corrections by Bodnar (1960) 166-167. The more correct text of Bodnar is reproduced in Stok (1999) 13-14. An Italian translation of the Greek text is in Prete (1981), but it should not be consulted without the Greek text because of the translator's license in rendering the original (the concluding phrase 'sotto di lui la Grecia tornerà all'antico splendore', for example, does not correspond to anything in the Greek text). Just as Secundinus' Latin rendering (cf. Mastrodimitris 1970), Cyriac's remains unedited (cf. Stok 1999: 13). For the translation of Perottus (with a small commentary) see Stok (1999) and Prete (1981). As Perottus dedicated his translation annex commentary to the Venetian Doge, his translation must be seen in the context of Bessarion's mission to Venice (Stok 1999: 11, Prete 1981: 229). As the text was quite well disseminated, it is possible that Trapezuntius' knew Perottus' translation, and so the link of the oracle with Bessarion (Stok 1999: 14-18).

yoked.[536] As Trapezuntius saw it, Constantine XI had been credulous enough to believe the oracle. Despite his attempts to stop him, the emperor had decided to rebuild the wall.[537] As a result of this, he had elicited God's wrath and had to perish. Why? 'Because he did not follow Christ as did the first Constantine, but Apollo and Plato and the impious Gemistus'.[538]

At this point, we may wonder if Trapezuntius was serious about all this. One example will illustrate just how serious he was about the perverting influence of Gemistos Plethon. When Sigismondo Malatesta transferred the remains of Plethon from the Peloponnesus to Rimini, and reburied them like a saint's relics in his Tempietto, Trapezuntius urged the *principe* to remove the philosopher's body. When the prince died two years later in 1468, the Greek scholar explained Malatesta's death to his wife and children directly from his reluctance to remove the cursed corps from his Tempietto. He moreover added that if they would not act immediately to remove the corpse even worse would happen to them.[539] For Trapezuntius, Plethon embodied a dangerous tradition that via Mohammed and Epicurus extended back to Plato. Paradoxically, Byzantium was thus connected with its conqueror via Plato. The Byzantines strayed away from the truth of Roman Church due to the influence of Platonic sects. For this, they had now been punished by their subjugation to the Ottoman Turks who followed Plato's precepts in the formulation of their prophet Mohammed. As western rulers such as Malatesta embraced Platonism, the same danger could befall Europe. Although Plethon himself had not succeeded in bringing about the fall of Christendom, Trapezuntius believed that the climax of the Manichean struggle between Platonists and Aristotelians, East and West, or heresy and orthodoxy, was close at hand.

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[536] '… δίκη δ' ἐς Ἑλλήνων γένος οὐρανόθεν ἥξει τύχης μέτα, καὶ τοὺς πρὶν αὐτῶν ἀναιδέας ὀλετῆρας ὑποθήσει ζεύγλῃ. Μακάρτατος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τὸ τέταρτον ἰσθμὸν τειχίσων ἐνοσίχθονος πέδον', cited from Stok (1999) 13-14.

[537] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b) 171 (§37), but the letter is now lost.

[538] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b) 171 (§36): 'Edificavit et per iram dei perdidit. Quare? Quia non est secutus Christum ut Constantinus primus, sed Apollinem Platonemque simul ac impium Gemistum'.

[539] See on this matter Saladin (2000a) 74-76 and Monfasani (1976) 214-215. Trapezuntius' own version of the affair is in Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b) 171-172. On the alliance between the Palaeologan dynasty and the Malatesta see Ronchey (2000).

From the ancient past into the present

The previous sections showed how Trapezuntius connected the ancient past with later phases of history through his narrative of Platonic decline and Aristotelian progress. In order to understand how his interpretation of the role of the Greeks in history bore upon his views on their role in the present we must take into account the immediate context of the *Comparatio*. Trapezuntius' views on the Greek legacy in this specific work resulted from the conjunction of his apocalyptical visions and his changed personal and professional attitudes towards the main protagonists of Platonic philosophy, centered round Bessarion's court in Rome. Although Trapezuntius had been part of Bessarion's circle in the 1440s, his relations with the cardinal cooled down and eventually resulted in open hostility in the 1460s.[540] In his above-cited treatise against Theodore Gaza he had already argued fanatically that the 'Cagulei' (the Roman admirers of Gaza) perverted true philosophy and ought to be stopped.[541] Therefore, he felt that Plethon's books should be burnt, especially so since he 'ardently fear[ed] that, if they were saved, they could procure great damage to the feeble and miserable Greeks, who, due to their ignorance, [were] seduced by the sole allurement of words'.[542] In the *Comparatio* Trapezuntius now replaced the 'Cagulei' of his treatise against Gaza by the more inclusive 'Platonici' and made them not only the perverters of Aristotle and the Greeks, but of Latin Christianity and the world.[543] In so doing, Trapezuntius fused the idea that the Platonists of Bessarion's circle had launched a conspiracy against him with his apocalyptical vision that the Apostasy had started in Rome. In this way, he represented the entire Greek tradition from Plato onwards as if it had prefigured the internal philosophical division of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy.

It seems that Trapezuntius saw important roles for himself and Bessarion in this struggle between Aristotle and Plato, Christianity and paganism, good and bad. In his letter to the cardinal regarding the *Calumniator*, Trapezuntius accused him openly and

[540] The origin of the disagreement had been Bessarion's preference of Gaza over Trapezuntius as a translator of Aristotle, but at least for Trapezuntius implied much more. On this see Monfasani (1976) 155.

[541] Gaza responded to the alleged connection with Plethon by carefully dissociating himself from him in a letter to Bessarion, partly meant as a response to Trapezuntius' attack. See Labowsky (1968) 185-186.

[542] Trapezuntius, ed. Mohler (1942) 340 ll. 27-29: 'Quare, sicut Cagulei omni cura, opera, studio philosophiam opprimere conantur, ut gradum hunc ad maiora faciant, sic nos navare operam decet a primo actu, tum gradu ipsos deiicere'.

[543] Monfasani (1976) 159.

by name of unchristian views. According to Trapezuntius, Bessarion had given the impression that he revered Plato as if he were God and that he wanted to introduce Plato's vices into the Church.[544] In this way, he placed the cardinal on a par with the Platos who had preceded him.[545] Trapezuntius saw himself in the competing Aristotelian tradition. Although present-day Greece had collapsed and had been reduced to an 'uncultivated field', it did still produce ('produxit') at least two worthy men, namely Isidore of Kiev and patriarch Gregory III.[546] They stood in a long tradition. The pristine Greeks had been paragons of military virtue and moral purity; the Four Heroes of Athens had maintained the liberty and integrity of this pristine Greek life that in many ways anticipated Christian morality; Aristotle and Alexander the Great had paved the way for the dissemination of Christian truth; and now Isidore and Gregory did everything in their power to achieve Church unity and so tried to solve one of the most devastating results of nearly two millennia of Platonism. This explains why Trapezuntius eventually appealed to Bessarion's responsibility as a Greek and as a cardinal not to

[544] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b) 170 (§§32-33). It must be noted that Trapezuntius' incriminations of Bessarion and his circle were certainly tendentious. Even though Bessarion continued admiring his Spartan teacher even after his death, there were significant differences between their ideas. While Bessarion was in favour of the Union of the Churches, for example, Plethon was indifferent (Zorzi 1987: 69-70, Lotti 1994: 92-96.). Their opinions also differed in matters as important as the Holy Trinity, the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and fate (Lotti 1994: 80, Monfasani 1994). Plethon believed that the Hellenes had declined because they had lost their Hellenic belief in divine providence and had united with the Latins; Bessarion riposted that those who embraced the union with the Latins must be praised as devout Christians and patriots (he used the word 'φιλόπατρις' in this context, for which see Monfasani 1994: 848-854, esp. nrs. 23 and 24). He also opposed his teacher's opposition to Aristotle. The most crucial difference between them was, however, in their approach to the ancient Greek legacy. Bessarion never conceived of Greek paganism as an alternative to Christianity, and for him the theological-Christian tradition always outdid the philosophical-Platonist tradition (Lotti 1994: 80).

[545] Monfasani (1976) 159-162 argued that Trapezuntius prophesied the advent of a 'fourth' Plato after Mohammed (the second) and Plethon (the third Plato), and that the prophet identified this fourth Plato with Bessarion. In my interpretation, however, Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Xii^{v} does not contain a prophecy, but an appeal to the powers that be to stop Plethon's influence. Cf. Trapezuntius (1523) Vvi^{r}, where it is stated that 'if we do not act with foresight' ('nisi prouideamus'), Plethon will surpass Mohammed just as Mohammed had surpassed Plato. Garin (1973) confirms my identification of Epicurus, Mohammed and Plethon as the second, third and fourth Plato respectively.

[546] Trapezuntius (1523) fol. Qii^{v}: 'Sed Graecia quamuis quasi ager incultus, calamitatibus pressa, iaceat, duos tamen uiros produxit, Ysidorum Cardinalem Ruthenum et Georgium Constantinopolitanem pontificem'.

disseminate Plato's harmful ideas.[547] It was also as a true Greek and a Roman Catholic defender of Aristotle against Plato that Trapezuntius saw a role for himself in the final act of the apocalyptical struggle between Platonists and Aristotelians.

In order to understand the role Trapezuntius saw for himself in the Greek tradition we must turn attention away from the *Comparatio* to his treatises for the Ottoman Sultan.[548] Although he had argued in favour of a crusade in the period before Constantinople fell to the Turks, the definitive fall of the city led Trapezuntius to conclusions that he shared with few if any of his contemporaries, and that would finally result in his imprisonment.[549] For the Cretan prophet, the fact that Mehmet had conquered the last major Christian stronghold in the East signalled that the Sultan was a protagonist in the apocalyptical endgame that he began to see with increasing clarity and detail from 1453 onwards. If the reign of the Ottoman Sultans prepared the way for the end of the world, Trapezuntius saw it as his task to convert the Sultan to Christianity so that he would rule in the name of God instead of the Antichrist. In this way, he could avert the rule of the Ishmaelites (the descendants of Abraham's elder son) that would in his view anticipate the end of the world.[550] If Aristotle and Alexander had prepared the world for the word of God, Trapezuntius and the Ottoman Sultan would achieve a *renovatio evangelica*. In this way, Trapezuntius inscribed himself together with the Sultan in the tradition of Aristotle and Alexander the Great. In his treatises to the Sultan he paid much attention to praising Aristotle; the Sultan would be his most distinguished ally against the Platonic Apostasy he saw in Rome. In this way, then, Trapezuntius dramatised the Plato-Aristotle debate by placing its main protagonists as he identified them – Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, Epicurus, Mohammed, Plethon, and ultimately perhaps also Bessarion and himself – in an entirely Greek, apocalyptical

[547] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b) 170 (§§32-33).

[548] It concerns his Greek preface for the *Isagoge* to Ptolemy's *Almagest* (ca. 1465–1466), the Latin preface to his translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (1466), the preface to his own *Comparatio philosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis* (1466), his treatises *On the Truth of the Faith of the Christians* (*Περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστεως*, 1453), *On the Eternal Glory of the Autokrator* (*Περὶ τῆς ἀιδίας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δόξης*, 1467), and *On divine Manuel* (*Περὶ τῆς θειότητος Μανουὴλ τοῦ μετὰ μικρὸν πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλέως*). Cf. Monfasani (1984b) 281-286, 491-574. The Latin letters to the Sultan are available in Mercati (1943) 85-92, 92-99. On Trapezuntius' commentary to the *Almagest* see Norlind (1966).

[549] Monfasani (1976) 131-132.

[550] See Monfasani (1976) 131-136.

narrative, climaxing with the conversion of the Sultan to Roman Catholicism and so ultimately in the annihilation of the Platonic sect.

Being Greek in a Roman empire and under an Ottoman ruler

The previous sections showed how Trapezuntius saw both his own Greekness and the place of the Greeks and himself in history. In the previous chapters, we have seen some examples of how other Byzantine intellectuals, as Hellenes, tried to come to grips with their double Greco-Roman heritage. Theodore Gaza and Bessarion, for example, explicitly expounded upon the relationship between the Byzantines, Hellenes and Romans (see chapter 2, pp. 66-67 and chapter 3, pp. 103-105 and pp. 109-111). How, then, did Trapezuntius view the relation between Greeks and Romans? Did he articulate views on this subject?

Trapezuntius recognised that the Greeks had been the temporary guardians of the Roman empire. The *imperium romanum* was ultimately an instrument of God and not a natural or self-evident attribute of the Greeks. So, for instance, Trapezuntius argued that God transferred the *imperium* from the Greeks to the Gauls in 800, when pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne Roman emperor.[551] In a letter to Johannes de Dominicis (1441), he explained God's intervention, arguing that he had rightfully removed the *imperium* because the almost automatic dynastic succession of the Greek emperors had begun to conflict with the role of the pope in matters of imperial succession. By transferring the *imperium* to the Gauls, Trapezuntius argued, God had restored the authority of the pope at this point.[552] As a transferable principle of supreme and divinely sanctioned authority,

[551] Charlemagne was the first who transferred the *imperium* from Greece to Gaul (see Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani 1984l: 429, §28).When referring to the fall of Constantinople, Trapezuntius stated that the 'seat of the imperium, transferred to Greece, has recently been destroyed' ('hec sedes imperii translata in Greciam de medio facta est his temporibus'). This is ambivalent. Either Trapezuntius meant the *former* seat of the Roman empire ('the seat of the imperium, *once* transferred to Greece…'), or he presupposed a curious *relatio imperii* from Gaul to Greece somewhere between 800 and 1453 for which I found no evidence. See Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984b) 171 (§36) and 172 (§39) where Trapezuntius additionally called Constantinople the 'seat of the Roman imperium' ('Constantini urbem, imperii sedem Romani'), but without making explicit whether he refers to the recent (*ante* 1453) or more remote (*ante* 800) past.

[552] See Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984e) 264 (§13): 'Imperatores Romani, quousque imperium erat in Grecia, successione tenebant imperium. Qua ex re fiebat ut minus in eo auctoritatis summus haberet pontifex, quippe qui filium post patris obitum non alium solebat imperatorem declarare. Transtulit deus inde sic ad Gallos imperium ut in manu summi pontificis

therefore, the *imperium romanum* was not bound to one people. Charlemagne had held it, around 1441 the pope held it,[553] and after 1453 Sultan Mehmet was the rightful *imperator Romanorum*.[554]

Although Trapezuntius certainly was a 'continual lobbyist for contemporary Greece',[555] there is no evidence that he wanted to restore *prisca Graecia* in a political sense, i.e. as a country with a specific territory ruled by a Greek ruler. Apparently, he did not develop the idea of Greek political unity as Chalkokondyles envisioned it (see chapter 1, p. 51). Nor was his idea of *prisca Graecia* in any sense territorial, as it was for Johannes Gemistus (see the sixth and final chapter).[556] Trapezuntius' letters and treatises to the Sultan in particular show that, in the later years of his life, he was chiefly preoccupied with the idea of Christian world-dominion rather than with smaller communal forms of organisation that interested Plethon and Bessarion. For example, in his treatise to Sultan Mehmet II which he wrote at his way back from Constantinople in 1466/7 he claimed that 'the greatest benefaction affecting all men, not only those of the present, but also those of the future, is none other than the union of all men in one society'.[557] The empire of Constantine the Great had been a success precisely because he had recognised that since there is one God there must be one faith, one church and one kingdom on earth, and because God always cooperates with the good purposes of kings. Only when the Greeks began to dispute issues of ecclesiastical primacy under the reign of Heraclius (r. 610–641) did their empire eventually crumble.[558] In this context, it is easy

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penitus collocavit. Cur ita? Ut, cum pontifex Romanus ille sit qui teneat, facilius prohibere possit, ne reveletur ille iniquus'. It must be noted that Trapezuntius addressed John Palaeologus as 'king of the Romans' in a letter he addressed to him. Provided that the title is correct, I think that it is conventional. See Trapezuntius, ed. Migne (1866) 896.

[553] See Monfasani (1976) 49-50.

[554] See Trapezuntius, ed. Mercati (1943) 85-87, 92-94, 96. This was a provocative statement that contributed to his imprisonment (cf. Monfasani 1976: 131-132). Even when Pius II famously addressed Mehmet II in 1461, he made no doubt about it that he would concede only the title 'emperor of the Greeks' to the Sultan after his conversion (see Piccolomineus, ed. Glei & Köhler 2001: 144).

[555] Cf. Monfasani (1976) 130.

[556] An introductory study to Trapezuntius' political thought (dealing with his views on the Ottoman Turks in his more overtly political writings) is Ravegnani (1975).

[557] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984p) 528: "Η γὰρ μείζων εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐ παρόντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέλλοντας εὐεργεσία οὔκ ἐστιν ἄλλη παρὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἕν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν μέρει καὶ εἰς μονοκρατορίαν μόνον' (translation from Monfasani 1984: 494). On the motives and circumstances of his stay in Constantinople see Monfasani (1976) 184-189.

[558] Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984p) 528-529.

to see that concerns for Hellenic freedom and resurrection – or the restoration of Greek *pristina libertas* as we find it in Bessarion – were at least in his writings eclipsed by his universalist Christian outlook.

This might seem notable in the context of the almost contemporaneous developments in thinking about Christian universalism and national political and religious cultures. In the fourteenth century, Aristotelian naturalism (to which Trapezuntius alluded in his explanation for national stereotypes) had increasingly induced Latin authors to accept the necessity of regional variations in government according to the diverse character of local populations. The idea was taken further in the fifteenth century by Nicholas of Cusa or Cusanus, a friend of Bessarion at the Roman Curia. Inspired by the fall of Constantinople and the reported atrocities of the Ottoman Turks, Cusanus stressed the necessity of a peaceful harmonisation of all faiths so that the different nations (*nationes*) of the world could eventually coexist in mutual respect and peace. In order to achieve this, he argued in his *De pace fidei* (1453) that apart from diversity of national government also variation of religious rites according to the natural differences of peoples must be tolerated. So, his idea of Christian universalism was no longer a literal one, but left ample room for national variation both politically and culturally. From that vantage point it would be perfectly possible to conceive of a distinctively Greek polity within the Christian 'οἰκουμένη', following its own rites if no conformity in manner could be found.[559] In fact, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Johannes Gemistus worked out a similar idea for Greece, as we shall see in the chapter 6. Even so, there is not a trace of such tolerant universalism in Trapezuntius' works. Trapezuntius instead stuck to a more unbridled form of medieval universalism in which there ideally was one faith, one church, and one kingdom. In such a kingdom he would be able to maintain and defend his Greekness, i.e. his relation of kinship (*generis coniunctio*) with other Greeks, his knowledge of the Greek language, his characteristic Greek *ingenium* and *mores*, and his sense of identity with the ancient Greeks. Only from this perspective can we understand how he could simultaneously be a convinced Greek patriot and present himself as the Sultan's slave ('δοῦλος').[560]

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[559] Nederman (2005), (2000) 85-97.

[560] On Trapezuntius' efforts to reach the Sultan see Monfasani (1976) 185-189.

Trapezuntius' view on the Greek tradition – resulting from his anti-Platonism and his apocalyptical visions – adds an alternative perspective to the ways in which Byzantines in the West imagined the place of the Greeks in history. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Bessarion saw Hellenic history from Athens onwards as a millenary battle against the barbarians of the East, in which he himself somehow participated. As we shall see in the next chapter, Janus Lascaris looked at Greek history from Heracles onwards as a mission to disseminate Greek civilisation via colonisation and dispersion, in which he himself as a displaced Greek took part. Trapezuntius' *Comparatio* in particular shows how central the Greek tradition and ancient Greece were to his view of himself and his outlook on the world. In contradistinction to what has been claimed in the past, it is now clear that George Trapezuntius did not abandon his attachment to the Greek world, and that the ancient Greek past played an important role in how he saw the place of himself and his people in history. In his Hellenocentric representation of things, the Greeks had both prepared the world for the word of God and served as the instrument of the Antichrist. In this way, he saw the deficiencies of his Greek people (who were schismatic and prone to the delusions of Platonism), but at the same time went out of his way to correct their errors (via a union with Roman Catholicism and the promotion of Aristotelianism). He was especially eccentric in the solutions he proposed (the fundamental eradication of everything in his view associated with Platonism as well as the invitation of the Ottoman Sultan to world dominion) and their underpinning (viz. that Platonic philosophy had produced all the 'external' enemies of the West). Trapezuntius' Hellenocentrism was radical in a double sense. It was radical because he never compromised or dissimulated his own affiliation with the Greek world but rather highlighted it in multiple contexts and defended it against detractors when necessary (e.g. against Agaso). It was also radical because he was prepared to reduce all forms of progress and decline ultimately to Greek affairs. The loftiest achievements of mankind were as Greek as its basest sins. As such, he complicated the monolithic and almost iconic notions of *the* Greek legacy that are not only typical of the modern age, but also of most of Trapezuntius' contemporaries.

Chapter 5

Ancient Greece as Greco-Latin Common Ground

At the end of the fourteenth century, Manuel Chrysoloras addressed Colotius Salutati, shortly before Chrysoloras took up his teaching duties at the Florentine Studio. In the letter, he congratulated the Florentine chancellor with his Latin translations of some of Plutarch's biographies of Greek and Roman statesmen.[561] According to Chrysoloras, the ancient historian's works were particularly important because they showed so well 'how close a connection ('κοινωνία') had once existed in all respects between the people of the Hellenes and that of the Italians'. To explain this connection, Chrysoloras pointed at the sacred and secular practices Italians and Greeks had shared. He claimed that they not only celebrated the same gods, but also shared their stories (or speech) and education 'as they wanted, if possible, to merge totally' ('συμφῦναι').[562] A few years later, Manuel Kalekas used a very similar strategy in a letter to Jacopo d'Angelo da Scarperia (dated ca. 1400). Kalekas maintained that he shared a fatherland with Jacopo d'Angelo: Florence was inhabited by Romans who had also founded Constantinople, while they were originally Greeks, an idea he probably took from Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[563]

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[561] Cf. Pade (2007) 94-95, also on the dating of the letter either in 1396 or after 1397/1398.

[562] Chrysoloras in Salutati, ed. Novati (1911) 341 ll. 17-22: 'εἰ δέ τις καὶ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς σκοποίη, οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου καίτοι παρ'ἐκείνου ἐστὶ δήπου καλῶς ἰδεῖν, ὁπόση κοινωνία πρὶν ἐν ἅπασιν ἦν τῷ τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένει καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἰταλῶν. τί γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ κοινὸν ἦν, τῶν τε θείων ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων; καίτοι τί λέγω τῶν θείων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων; οἵ γε μὴ μόνον τὰ ἀλλήλων σεμνά, λέγω γάρ οὖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μύθους καὶ τὰς παιδίας ἠγάσθησαν, βουλόμενοι διὰ πάντων, εἰ δυνατόν, συμφῦναι'. Note that the Greek 'μῦθοι' can mean *words* (speech, language) but also more broadly *stories*, which are both valid meanings in this context. Compare Chrysoloras in Salutati, ed. Novati (1911) 341 ll. 22-31, where the Byzantine scholar explained why some Romans preferred to write in Greek about the deceased in their families and cities.

[563] See Kalekas, ed. Loenertz (1950) 257 (nr. 64 ll. 1-5): '…ὅτι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς … κοινωνοῦμεν πατρίδος. τῆς τε γὰρ σῆς Ἕλληνες ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκισταὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγονται γεγονέναι, τήν τε ἡμετέραν πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις τῶν αὐτῶν ἄποικον ἴσμεν' *[… that we also share the same fatherland … as the Romans (originally Greeks) became the inhabitants of your fatherland, while we know that much later our own fatherland became a colony of theirs].*

These are two early and evocative examples of how Byzantine intellectuals could use the ancient past to bridge the gap with the Italian humanists. The ancient past was a useful model to mould their relation with the Latins. It directed attention away from the military and religious conflicts of recent times towards an ancient past of mutual regard and cooperation. This usage of the ancient Greek past is different from what we have seen in the previous chapters. Bessarion fused the notions of ethnic kinship and cultural preservation to differentiate the Hellenes from other peoples (chapter 3), while George Trapezuntius created a unique place for the Greeks in providential history (chapter 4). In this chapter, I will discuss two more elaborate examples of the ways Byzantines could use the ancient Greek past as a bridge towards the Latins without, however, losing their special claim to Greek antiquity. The first example (that will cover most of the chapter) is Janus Lascaris' *Florentine Oration*, which claims that Greeks and Latins can be regarded as 'one and the same people' ('idem et unum genus'). The second example (that will be discussed in lesser detail) is Constantine Lascaris' *Vitae illustrium philosophorum Siculorum et Calabrorum*, a list with short biographies of ancient Greek philosophers associated with Sicily and Calabria. In this curious work, Constantine Lascaris reminded the Calabrian and Sicilian elites of the ancient Greek past of their regions. Although I will primarily focus on Janus Lascaris' *Florentine Oration*, a brief confrontation of the different ways Janus and Constantine Lascaris used the Greek past for similar purposes will both round off this chapter and anticipate the central topic of the next.

Almost precisely a century after Chrysoloras wrote his letter to Salutati, one of his most famous successors on the Florentine chair of Greek, Janus Lascaris, carried Chrysoloras' and Kalekas' ideas further in a long speech on the occasion of the new academic year at the Florentine Studio. As if he knew Chrysoloras' letter to Salutati and followed its precepts, Lascaris mined Plutarch's *Vitae* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* for arguments in favour of the ethnic and cultural commonality of Greeks and Latins. This in fact boiled down to emphasising the Hellenic features of the Latins.[564] In this, he was so successful that his biographer Henri Vast felt the need to

[564] That Lascaris was familiar with the works of Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus primarily appears from the often indirect quotations and verbatim translations in his speech, carefully traced by Meschini (1983). It is also substantiated by the available inventory of Lascaris' library, drawn up by his Greek secretary Matthias Devaris, in which we find represented works of both Plutarch and Dionysius. See Nolhac (1886) 256 nr. 27, 257 nr. 53 on which see Jackson (2003b). Cf. Nolhac (1887) 154-159. The reception of Plutarch's *Lives* in fifteenth-century Italy is examined in the impressive two-volume study of Marianne Pade (2007).

warn his 'Latin' readership not to take the views and recommendations of the Byzantine professor too much at heart. 'If you lend your ear to Lascaris too willingly', he warned in 1886, 'and as you follow the Greeks, forgetful of yourselves, there could be the danger that you become unable to draw anything from yourself ever again'.[565] Despite their commonality, however, Lascaris also emphasised that the Greeks were *superior* to the Latins. He claimed that the Latins owed a debt to the Greeks, and that the Italians must welcome and safeguard the Byzantines. If the dead must be honoured, Lascaris explained, and 'if we are "remnants of the Greeks" as Caesar said to the Athenians, who were spared because of their dead, although they, living Greeks, had done much wrong, then we, who are unfortunately in the full sense pathetic remnants of the Greeks, can expect good and human assistance because of our dead'.[566] In other words, Janus Lascaris used the ancient Greek past both to mark off the Greeks from the Latins and to create a cultural common ground with them.

In my interpretation of Lascaris' *Florentine Oration*, I expound upon Anna Meschini's criticism of Henri Vast's assertion that the *Oratio* is an apolitical speech, and does not touch upon public affairs. While Anna Meschini has amply shown that the speech is full of polemical strokes and blows against the detractors of Greek studies,[567] I propose to nuance the idea that Lascaris' speech is first and foremost an aggressive polemical rebuttal of his academic rivals, or an expression of the author's 'nationalistic prejudice'.[568]

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[565] Vast (1878a) 32: 'Periculum sit, si Lascari aurem omnino praebeas, dum Graecos sequeris, tui immemor, nihil a te ipso haurire usquam possis'. Lascaris' *Florentine Oration* is discussed, or rather summarised, in Vast (1878a) 26-32.

[566] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 91 ll. 35-41: 'Si quis itaque vita defunctis alicubi sensus est, ut nationum consensu et sapientissimorum quorumcunque sententia autumare possumus, ac pro divinis et immortalibus meritis divinae gratiae immortalesque debentur, si nos Graecorum reliquiae, ut dixit Caesar Atheniensium populo, qui cum multa vivi delinquerent, propter mortuos servarentur, nos quoque, heu nimium vere Graecorum quisquilliae, mortuorum saltem causa bonum quodquam humanumve auxilium sperare possumus'. In order to save the structure of the sentence, I deleted a colon after 'si nos', and assume an elided 'sumus' after 'reliquiae', making 'nos' the subject of 'sumus' and considering 'Graecorum reliquiae' to be the nominal part of the predicate instead of an apposition with 'nos'. The translation would then be as follows: 'If the deceased have any consciousness left somewhere (as we can assume on the basis of the common opinion among the peoples and the judgement of the very wise) and if an equally great gratitude is due to their superhuman and immortal merits, if we are the remnants of the Greeks…'

[567] Meschini (1983) 69-86.

[568] Meschini (1983) 83-84 ('pregiudizio nazionalistico').

Although Lascaris indeed claimed that the Latins were indebted to the Greeks,[569] his speech supplemented this idea with a more emotive appeal to help members of the same *genus* or people. After providing the necessary background to Janus Lascaris' speech in the next section, I will subsequently show how he demonstrated the Greekness of the Latins and how his thesis of *idem et unum genus* relates to the purpose of his speech to promote Greek studies. After that, I will investigate how Janus Lascaris solves a major problem entailed in his representation of Greeks and Latins. How can Greeks possibly be superior to Latins if they seem to be 'one and the same people'? In this context, I will also show how the post-Byzantine scholar framed the Latin indebtedness to the Greeks as something positive so that his speech finally also tackles the problem of anti-Greek prejudice that continued to exist even among humanist philhellenists. In the final section, then, I will briefly show an alternative way of how the ancient Greek past could be used to create a Greco-Latin common ground by means of Constantine Lascaris' *Vitae*.

Janus Lascaris' Florentine Oration *as an academic speech*

Janus Lascaris delivered his *Oratio habita in gymnasio Florentino* (briefly *Oratio Florentina* or *Florentine Oration*) in October or November 1493 as the formal introduction, or *praelectio*, to his Greek course in 1493–1494.[570] In Florence, such preliminaries were held at the start of the academic year in October after the *decretista* had delivered his opening oration in the Cathedral of the city.[571] One year before his *praelectio*,[572] Lascaris had succeeded Demetrius Chalcondylas on the chair of Greek poetry and philosophy.[573] In speeches such as the *Oratio* professors generally praised the liberal arts and their teaching topic in particular (the part of the speech referred to as *laus*) in addition to exhorting and encouraging their students to take up studies and to do their best (the *cohortatio* or *exhortatio*). When one of Lascaris' other distinguished predecessors on the Florentine chair of Greek, Johannes Argyropulus, decided to skip

[569] Meschini (1983) 77.
[570] Meschini (1983) 72.
[571] Maïer (1966) 45-46.
[572] As Klecker (1994) 12 n. 2 points out, humanists did not label this kind of speech in a uniform fashion. So, we find *oratio*, *praefatio*, *praelectio* side by side with *sermo*. In the Italian secondary literature, it has become customary to speak of *prolusioni* (cf. the edition of Lascaris' speech by Anna Pontani Meschini).
[573] For a concise biographical sketch of Janus Lascaris and his activities see Grafton (1985). Important documents for his biography are brought together in Pontani (1992b),

the *laudatio* and the *exhortatio*, he explained his choice to do so, which indicates that he at least thought that his audience would expect him to deliver these parts of the oration.[574] Apart from introducing the subject, the *lectores* in their opening speeches also presented themselves, their competences and their intellectual orientations both to the students and to the scholarly community affiliated to the institute that had invited them.[575] So, the inaugural lecture served the double purpose of introducing both the subject matter and the professor to his audience. From the first lines of the *Florentine Oration*, it appears that Janus Lascaris had two objectives in mind. He aimed, first, at persuading the older and more expert men in his audience to foster Greek culture and to prevent it from becoming obsolete, and, secondly, at exhorting the younger students to take up the study of Greek by advertising its utility.[576] Both parts combine the themes of *laus* and *exhortatio*, and often the qualities praised are presented as reasons to embrace Greek studies, so that we may speak of a *protreptic laudation*.

Although by the middle of the fifteenth century Greek had generally become accepted as part of the humanist curriculum,[577] dissident voices did not vanish. So, for instance, the Dominican friar Giovanni Nanni, better known as Annius of Viterbo, argued against Greek studies in his famous *Antiquitates*, published in print some five years after Lascaris delivered his oration, in 1498.[578] Annius combined his rejection of Greek studies with an extreme form of Italian misohellenism so that his *Antiquitates* have been summarised by one modern commentator as 'one big indictment of the Greeks'.[579] In the work, Annius repeatedly undermined the idea, generally accepted by philhellenes, that Greek culture was at the basis of civilisation. As an alternative to this

[574] See Argyropulus, ed. Müllner (1970) 3-4. The speeches were delivered in 1456 and 1457. In his speech of 1457 he even called the obligatory praise of the subject under study a 'consuetudo inveterata' (Argyropulus, ed. Müllner 1970: 19).

[575] Cf. Klecker (1994) 11, who, in her discussion of Politianus' opening lectures, places such speeches justly in the realm of the 'Prunkreden' in which the teacher not only introduced his theme, but also proved his competence ('eine Probe seines Könnens').

[576] This division of objectives equally structures his speech (the first part running from line 35 until line 241, the second from 242 until 554 with a succinct recapitulation and conclusion following in lines 555 until 627).

[577] Celenza (2009) 157.

[578] In the *Antiquitates*, Annius of Viterbo published and commented upon lost writings and fragments of pre-Christian Greek and Roman authors which he claimed to have rediscovered in Mantua but which were in fact forgeries of his own hand. On his attitude towards Greece see especially Tigerstedt (1964). See also Grafton (1990a, 1990b, 1986: 76-103).

[579] Tigerstedt (1964) 303.

Greek origin myth he developed the theory that literature had flourished in Spain, France and Germany many thousand years before the Greeks,[580] and that the Greeks had derived their 'literature and learning' ('litteras et disciplinas') from the Gauls.[581] Through questioning the authority of ancient Greek authors, and Greek character in general, Annius undermined the foundations of the in his eyes dangerous new learning of humanism in favour of the Roman-Catholic faith.[582]

Speeches such as Lascaris' *Florentine Oration* were, however, not directed against men such as Annius. As they addressed an audience that was for the most part made up of students of Greek, such *praelectiones* were chiefly speeches *pro domo*. If only for this reason, they were in many respects topical and clichéd. On the other hand, there was always some reluctance to embrace Greek studies as it encroached upon the Latins' sense of cultural precedence and self-sufficiency. Perhaps the best example to illustrate the cultural anxiety of the Latins is Scipio Carteromachus' *Oratio* (see also p. 85-86). After demonstrating the *nobilitas* and the *utilitas* of the Greek language, Carteromachus emphasised that he wanted to avoid the impression that he 'as a Latin man among the Latins' would praise something alien to the detriment of something familiar.[583] By the same token, Petrus Bembus in his speech in praise of Greek also urged his Venetian audience not to condemn him as if he 'was treating the Latin language as inferior, while praising Greek and extolling it more than is right for a member of a different nation (ἀλλοφύλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ) and at that in the most beautiful region of Italy that is ours'.[584] Both Carteromachus and Bembus in the end asserted the superiority of 'their own' Latin culture. The remainder of this chapter will show how Janus Lascaris alternatively tried to reduce the cultural anxiety of his Italian students and colleagues *without* losing Greek superiority. Yet to understand Lascaris' highly innovative strategy to achieve this we must first briefly look at how his post-Byzantine colleagues advertised Greek studies in their own inaugural speeches as far as they have come down to us.

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[580] Annius (1498) fol. Iii^{v} (from his commentary on Xenophon *De aequivocis*).

[581] Annius (1498) fol. Sv^{r} (from his commentary on Berosus).

[582] Tigerstedt (1964) 306-309.

[583] Carteromachus (1517) fol. c3^{r}. To legitimise his praise of Greek letters, he then sums up a long list of ancient Latin authorities who benefitted from Greek studies in the past (Carteromachus 1517: fols. c3^{r}-c4^{r}).

[584] Bembus, ed. Wilson (2003) 66. The English translation of the Greek text is Wilson's (67). In the remainder of his speech, Bembus argued that Latin can be far grander and more remarkable than Greek, if Latins would perfect their language with a profound knowledge of Greek. See also Philelfus' emphasis on his Latinity on p. 62 with n. 211.

Mostly, the *laus Graecarum litterarum* revolved around the usefulness of Greek for learning Latin and understanding Latin literature.[585] In his *Oratio de litteris graecis*, for example, Theodore Gaza paid much attention to showing that Greek studies were indeed indispensable for acquiring Latin.[586] He added that those Italian intellectuals who decided 'to recuperate and to bring back to light Latin literature', well understood that this was impossible without knowledge of Greek.[587] 'Whoever neglects Greek literature', Gaza warned, 'will entirely lack this means of help which your ancestors used to draw from the Greek source so as to learn, preserve and amplify their literature'.[588] In support of this, he cited Cicero (calling him 'the prince of *your* language') as an example of someone who 'did not enter the forum before preparing his Latin composition in Athens by means of Attic letters'.[589] In addition to this, he alluded to the civic ideals of his audience, by pointing at the usefulness of Greek studies for fulfilling one's duties as a civilian. Also in this context, he highlighted the restoration of Latin literature. So, for instance, Gaza cited Victorinus Feltrensis whom he called 'the promoter and leader of the restoration of the Latin language'.[590] The same strategy was employed by others. Andronicus Contoblacas, for instance, equally emphasised the utility of Greek studies for understanding Latin in his *Oratio in laudem litterarum graecarum*.[591] Especially in the second redaction of his speech, he cited not a few Roman authorities (Priscian, Horace, Quintilian, Vergil, and Cato) who had all emphasised the use of Greek for the acquisition and amplification of Latin.[592] In this way, both Gaza and Contoblacas

[585] Geanakoplos (1974) 130.

[586] On Gaza' speech see also Papadimitrou (2000).

[587] See esp. paragraphs 4-8 of Gaza' oration in Gaza, ed. Mohler (1942c) 254-256.

[588] Gaza, ed. Mohler (1942c) 255 ll. 4-7: 'Qui enim graecas litteras neglexerit, is eo omni adiumento, quod ad suas litteras addiscendas, conservandas amplificandasque maiores vestri e graeco fonte haurire solebant, omnino carebit'.

[589] Gaza, ed. Mohler (1942c) 255, 14-17: 'Unde M. Tullius, linguae vestrae facilis princeps, non ante ad forum accessisse dicitur, quam Athenis orationem latinam litteris atticis struxisset, seque ad rempublicam gerendam multo ante paravisset'.

[590] Gaza, ed. Mohler (1942c) 256 ll. 17-21: 'Victorinus Feltrensis … nunc non solum propter virtutem beatus, sed *restituendae quoque latinae linguae imprimis adiutor et auctor habetur'*.

[591] See Schmitt (1971) not without Monfasani (1995).

[592] Schmitt (1971) 275-276. Although Contoblacas quoted extensively from Roman literature in his speech, his shaky knowledge of Latin not only appears from his Latin phrasing and syntax, but also from the passages he quoted to make his point. So, for instance, as evidence for Demosthenes' oratorical skills he cited a passage from Juvenal's *Satires* without realising that the point of the passage is that both Demosthenes and Cicero *died* as the result of their oratorical talents (see *Sat.* 10.114-132).

adopted the perspective of the Italian philhellenes on the Greek legacy, arguing that their Italian audience should follow the example of their Roman ancestors to study Greek to the benefit of their knowledge of Latin and Roman history.

Such an emphasis on the utility of Greek studies catered to the intellectual needs and concerns of the Italian humanists. Even so, the gap between 'we' and 'you', 'ours' and 'yours' was not bridged, but rather reified: the Greeks were in the role of teachers, the Latins in the role of students. In order to make this situation acceptable for their Italian audience, Greek professors used other strategies. Theodore Gaza and Andronicus Contoblacas, for example, tried to reconcile the Italians with their inferior position as students of Greeks by pointing out that their ancestors, the Romans, had wholeheartedly recognised their debt to the Greeks of their own time. Apart from this, some Byzantines also suggested more intensive intercultural contacts between their own forebears and the Italians' ancestors. In one of his *Paduan Orations*, for example, Lascaris' predecessor Demetrius Chalcondylas recalled that the Romans used to send their children to Athens, and urged his young audience to imitate their Roman ancestors by embracing Greek studies.[593] Finally, Byzantine scholars pointed at the linguistic affinity (*conformitas et propinquitas*) between Greek and Latin, as the same Chalcondylas did in his first *Paduan Oration*.[594]

As we shall see in the next sections, in Janus Lascaris' speech these elements recur. However, in his speech they are not incidental rhetorical comparisons and parallels, but give substance to his central argument that the Italians and Greeks can be seen as 'one and the same people' at root. They are in other words part of his over-all strategy to connect Byzantine Greeks and Latin Florentines by making Greeks out of Latins. 'If among almost all peoples it is a law that the greatest gratitude is owed to those by whom you are educated', Lascaris claimed,

> 'I would contend that someone of Latin origin will find no other foster fathers, if the Greeks are excluded; after all, the Greek and Latin peoples could be considered to be one and the same, even though the former is older and the Latin younger, because it follows from the Greek. But surely the Greeks seem to have given the ripe fruits of physical and intellectual culture to all people, and certainly to their Latin brothers. Reason alone why they must be welcomed with general benevolence'.[595]

[593] Chalcondylas, ed. Geanakoplos (1976) 303 (with English translation on pp. 263-264).
[594] Chalcondylas, ed. Geanakoplos (1976) 299.
[595] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 91-92 ll. 48-56: 'Si enim apud omnes fere nationes lege sancitum sit, a quibus fueris educatus his a te quam maximum deberi beneficium, quos alios quis Latini

Especially in the first part of the speech, that reads as a *laus Graecorum*, Lascaris tried to bridge the cultural gap with his Florentine audience by pointing at the different crosslinks between the Greek and Latin peoples, their culture, and their language. In the second section, which is a protreptic *laus Graecarum litterarum*, Lascaris conventionally argued in favour of the utility of learning Greek. In order to demonstrate its usefulness, he dwelt on the familiar ideas that all disciplines derive from Greek authors, that without knowledge of Greek one cannot properly learn Latin, and that Greek literature is ultimately superior to Latin.[596] In this part of the speech, the Latin derivation of Greek was most important.[597] Because Lascaris had so radically reframed the relation between the Italians and Byzantines in the first part of his oration, his idea of the instrumentality of Greek – and in particular the traditional argument of the linguistic dependency of Latin on Greek – gains new significance.

Ethnic ties and shared culture: The Greek roots of the Latins

In his letter to Jacopo d'Angelo da Scarperia Manuel Kalekas had hinted at the idea that Florentines and Byzantines were related because they shared their Greek origin. The implications of this idea were worked out by Janus Lascaris. At the beginning of his speech, Lascaris sketched for his Italian audience the long and continuous tradition of Greek dissemination of learning and civilisation. In this, he represented the Greeks as an elected people that had received their gifts from God, developed them further, and then transmitted them to the rest of the world. They moreover did so 'without envy, as they did not fear that they would make other people their equals, but rather that they would outclass the others less in humanity and kindness than in genius…'.[598] This Greek

nominis particeps, Graecis postpositis, alimentorum sibi ducat exhibitores haud quaquam inventurum contenderim, praesertim cum Graecum et id ipsum Latinum genus unum et idem existimari possit – illud quidem antiquius, Latinum, quod sit ab illo, recentius –, Graeci autem animi corporisque mitia alimenta omnibus hominibus, nedum Latinis suis, exhibuisse videantur, pro qua vel sola re sunt omnium benevolentia prosequendi'.

[596] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 99-110 ll. 242-261 (disciplines) ll. 262-335 (language) and ll. 336-540 (literature).

[597] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 102 l. 336.

[598] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 92 ll. 66-75: 'Nec vero in quo primum natura indiguit divinitus accepto tam benignos se exhibuerunt, in reliquis autem, quae ingenio proprio et industria investigavere, dissimiles. Cum enim palantes homines collegerint, leges posuerint, civilitatem constituerint, disciplinas, artes omnes, quae ad vitae necessitatem spectant, quae voluptati inserviunt, aut invenerint aut inventas excoluerint et perfectiores reddiderint, omnibus hominibus sine invidia tradiderunt, utpote non metuerent, ne reliquos homines sibi aequales

cultural myth from the very start framed the relations between the Greeks and other peoples. It framed the Greeks as the benefactors, while the others benefitted. It is obvious that this division of roles sat uneasily with Latin claims to cultural precedence, as it was for example expressed by Andreas Brentius and Laurentius Valla (see chapter 2, pp. 82-83 and pp. 92-93). In his crusade speech at the court of Charles V, Lascaris stressed that all European nations were indebted to the ancient Greeks (see chapter 3, pp. 120-122). In his *Florentine Oration*, however, he argued that the Italians had a close relationship of ethnic and cultural similarity with the ancient Hellenes, just as the Byzantine Greeks. In the first half-hour of his speech, Janus Lascaris thoroughly Hellenised the Latins, from their earliest origins in the first Greek migrant peoples to their attempts to preserve their Greekness in Rome. Going far beyond the idea of intercultural contact of Greeks and Latins in the remote past, Lascaris connected both peoples by demonstrating their ancient ethnic kinship-relation and showed how they could bear upon contemporary relations between Italians and Byzantine Greeks. In order to reduce the Italians' anxiety about embracing Greek studies, Lascaris moreover showed how their Roman ancestors had achieved 'to merge totally' with the Greeks, to reuse the wording of Chrysoloras. In this way, then, he implicitly responded to Latin claims of superiority by reminding his audience that the Greeks had been first, while he at the same time recalled the Latins' close familiarity with them.

Just as all the other parts of the world the Italian peninsula had benefitted from the presence of Greek colonisers.[599] Lascaris recalled the eighty cities of Greeks founded by Pythagoras, as Porphyrius claimed.[600] Also, he referred to the colonies of the Pelasgians, the Cretans on the Italian peninsula, as well as to those of the Thessalians, and evoked how the Achaeans had settled on Roman shores after the Trojan war.[601] Yet Lascaris also established the *ethnic* kinship of Latins and Greeks in terms of origin and descent.

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redderent, sed ne minus humanitate et liberalitate quam ingenio ceteros anteirent...' *[The Greeks did not only act benignly with respect to the things which they had originally lacked and received from God, but operated similarly with respect to the other things which they had invented with their own genius and labour. After they had brought together the people who were wandering, posed laws, established civilised life, and after they had either invented or cherished and made more perfect all disciplines and arts that pertain to life's necessity, that serve man's pleasure, they transmitted them to all people without envy, as they did not fear that they would make other people their equals, but rather that they would outclass the others less in humanity and kindness than in genius…]*

[599] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 94 ll. 117-125.

[600] Cf. Porph. *VP* 20-21.

[601] Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.13.2 (Pelasgians and Cretans), Str. 5.2.3 (Thessalians), Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.4-5; Plut. *Rom.* 26-27 (Lacedaemonians), Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.9.2 (Achaeans).

Rephrasing Dionysius of Halicarnassus (his major source in these lines) he claimed that the Sabines (whom Lascaris apparently sees as Latins) were proud to be the descendants of the Spartans. The Aborigines (together with the Trojans often seen as a progenitorial tribe of the Latins) were Greeks from the mountains of Lyaconia in Asia Minor.[602] The Trojans and their princes, whom Lascaris called 'founders of the Romans' ('Romanorum conditores'), equally were Greeks 'by descent' ('genere').[603] Finally, the Oenotrians, whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus saw as the ancestors of the Aborigines, are also referred to as a Greek people, stemming from Arcadia.[604] On the basis of Pausanias, Lascaris added to this that it was in the memory of the Arcadian Evander (who brought the Greek pantheon, laws, and alphabet to Italy) that emperor Pius Antoninus turned Pallantium in Arcadia from a village into a city and gave its inhabitants both liberty and freedom of taxation.[605] Lascaris' treatment of Evander is illustrative of how he treated the prehistoric ancestors of his addressees. He particularly evoked the Greek origin of eponymous protagonists of the earliest history of the Italian peninsula. So, for instance, he recalled that Tyrrhenus, 'your name-giver, the origin of your excellence', descended from Heracles.[606] Also the name-givers Italus and Oenotrus were Greeks.[607] Quoting four lines from Hesiod to illustrate this point further, Lascaris stated that they were brothers:

> 'κούρη δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀγαυοῦ Δευκαλίωνος
> Πανδώρη Διὶ πατρί, θεῶν σημάντορι πάντων,
> μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι τέκε Γραῖκον μενεχάρμην
> καὶ Γραῖκος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς ἄγριον εἶδὲ Λατῖνον'.[608]

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[602] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 94 ll. 124-126 with Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.9.2, 1.11.1-2, 1.13.2-3.
[603] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 96 ll. 153-155.
[604] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 95 l. 126 with Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.13.2, 2.1.2.
[605] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 95 ll. 127-130 with Paus. 8.43.1.
[606] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 94 ll. 123-124: '… Tyrrhenus vestri nominis auctor, vestrae nobilitatis initium, Herculis egregia et clara progenies'.
[607] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 95 ll. 141-142. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.11.
[608] Cf. J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 95, *apparatus* ad ll. 144-147. Curiously, the fourth verse occurs only here in Lascaris' text and in a codex in Madrid, once in the possession of Constantine Lascaris. Reference is to BNE, Cod. Matr. 4607 on which see Martínez Manzano (1998) 78 with n. 5 for references. Cf. Galán Vioque 2006: 42. The passage cited by Lascaris seems to be an intentional contamination of Hes. *Fr.* 4 (= *Fr.* 2 in the more recent edition of Most) and an adaptation of Hes. *Theog.* 1013 ('ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον'). Note that both passages are cited in close association in Lydus *Mens.* 1.13. The insertion is obviously very convenient to Lascaris. Although we cannot tell whether or not the Byzantine scholar was behind it, it surely recalls the 'Athenian

And a maiden in the halls of illustrious Deucalion, Pandora, who with Zeus the father, the commander of all the gods, having mingled in love, bore Graikos who delighted in remaining standfast in battle, and Graikos gazed upon his wild brother Latinos.[609]

In this way, then, Lascaris transformed all the major pre-Roman tribes of the Italian peninsula together with their eponymous heroes – the Sabines, the Aborigines, the Oenotrians, and the Trojans – into Greeks who had not become Greek through a process of cultural Hellenisation, but were Greek originally by direct descent from Greek tribes. As Lascaris thus demonstrated how the traditional progenitors of the Romans were of Greek extraction, there was no need to demonstrate separately in any detail the ethnic kinship of Greek and Romans whose descendants the Florentines claimed to be. 'The first beginnings of the Romans stem from the heart of Greece', Lascaris boldly claimed.[610] Ethnic kinship thus united Greeks and Latins in the same ancient past.

It is important to not that Lascaris construed these kinship relations between Greeks and Romans as incentives for political choices. He claimed, for example, that the Athenians had sent auxiliaries to the Romans during their war with their neighbours because of their kinship ('cognatio', ll. 130-132). On the basis of the kinship between Greeks and Romans ('consanguinitas', l. 132), Alexander and Demetrius Poliorcetes had released pirates from Ostia, warning the Romans not to fall away from their ancestors (ll. 132-135).[611] The political use of kinship relations adds an important dimension to the argument of cultural debt. The Italians must favour the Byzantines not only 'because of their dead' – just as Caesar spared the Athenians – but also because of their own kinship relation with them. Lascaris claimed that his audience had sons, brothers, but eventually

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interpolations' in the Homeric epics (e.g. in the Catalogue where the Athenian Menestheus is worked into the narrative in *Il.* 2.522).

[609] The translation of the first three lines is after Most (2007) 45.

[610] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 96 ll. 157-158: 'E media Graecia sunt Romanorum primordia'.

[611] As Lascaris' source Strabo (5.3.5) recounts the story, it seems that Demetrius and not Alexander warned the Romans that even though he released the pirates due to kinship ('συγγένεια'), he 'did not deem it right for men to be sending out bands of pirates at the same time that they were in command of Italy, or to build in their Forum a temple in honour of the Dioscuri (…) and yet at the same time send to Hellas people who would plunder the native land of the Dioscuri' (translation after H.L. Jones). We find Lascaris' version of the story also in other contemporary early modern sources such as in Flavius Blondus' discussion of the city of Anzio in his *Italia illuminata*. See Blondus, ed. and trans. White (2005) 124 ll. 5-10 (§3.5 with explicit reference to Strabo). The identity of Alexander (either Alexander the Great or Alexander of Epirus) is disputed on which see Stefan Radt's commentary to Strabo (vol. 6, 71).

also parents in Greece.[612] In the *Oratio*, the study and preservation of Greek literature is not just a question of solving debts to the most legitimate heirs of a benefactor, but has become one of helping brothers and parents. This is a very different kind of cultural discourse than the more technical creditor-debtor rhetoric in the *Madrilenian Oration*. Whereas also in that speech Lascaris framed the relation between cultural creditors and debtors as one between parents and children, the elaborate ethnic connotation of his *Florentine Oration* is absent in that speech.

Apart from ethnic ties of *consanguinitas* cultural preservation or imitation could account for the close cultural relationship of *koinonia* between ancient Greeks and Latins. Whereas Dionysius of Halicarnassus served as the main source to demonstrate the prehistoric ethnic link between Latins and Greeks, Plutarch is Lascaris' main model to demonstrate that the Greeks and Latins remained closely related, even centuries after the first Greek colonisers had set foot on Italian sole, to begin with Oenotrus. According to Lascaris, it was on the basis of a Greek education, and on the basis of Greek examples, that the protagonists of Roman history achieved their successes, from Romulus to Augustus, so roughly from the founding of the city of Rome until the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Principate.[613] For example, Lascaris recalled that Polybius had educated Cornelius Scipio, while 'Athenagoras' (read Athenodorus) had trained Augustus. Lascaris referred to the cultural transfer in terms of imitation (*imitari*).[614] Yet he also rhetorically claimed that not imitation (*imitatio*), but only the transmigration (*transmigratio*) of Greek souls into Roman bodies could explain the striking parallels between Greeks and Romans in the ancient past – and he jokingly added that here Pythagoreans might find proof for their thesis of the transmigration of souls ('μετεμψύχωσις').[615]

In this way, Lascaris created both ethnic and cultural common ground between the Greeks and Romans of antiquity and between the Byzantines and Italians of the present. At the same time, there were undeniable differences between both peoples. Perhaps the

[612] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 96 ll. 152-153: 'Idem et filii et fratres et prostremo parentes in Graecia'.

[613] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 97-98 ll. 186-219.

[614] Cf. J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 97 ll. 186, 200; 98 l. 203.

[615] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 98 ll. 219-225. Perhaps, Lascaris' comment on the transmigration of souls was not only intended jokingly as the Pythagorean thesis had been a point of vehement discussion regarding the philosophy of Plethon (Harris 1995b: 129). As we have seen in chapter 2, Lascaris also applied the same strategy to an individual Italian humanist. Cf. Legrand (1885) 174-178 (the poem is on p. 175, see esp. ll. 10-12).

clearest marker of difference between them was their distinct languages, Greek and Latin. At the same time, there was a widespread belief that Latin had its origin in Greek. This fitted in very well with Lascaris' argument of ethnic and cultural kinship. Before showing that Lascaris used the linguistic differences between Greek and Latin also to highlight Greek superiority, the next few pages will first demonstrate how he adapted the idea that Latin had originated in Greek to his own agenda in the *Oratio*, i.e. to show the close relationship of the Greeks and the Latins.

Etymology and the limits of imitation

'In my opinion you will not only find back all branches of knowledge through the Greek authors, but also your own language (*lingua ipsa tua*)', Lascaris claimed, when he tried to win over the Florentine youth to Greek studies in the second part of his speech.[616] In the ancient sources, the idea that the Romans had also spoken Greek was ubiquitous, and we find it from Cato's *Origines* to Lydus' *De magistratibus*.[617] The Romans had generally accepted the idea that their language derived from the Aeolic dialect since it enabled them to associate their culture with the much admired civilisation of the Greeks.[618] It circulated in the Greek East too. It echoes, for instance, in the grammatical tract of Choeroboscus which was much used by Byzantine scholars and later also by Italian humanists.[619] Despite the wide circulation of the idea, however, the notion that Latin had originated in Greek remained almost completely undertheorised in ancient, medieval and early modern linguistic thought. Hellenising etymologies were used for literary, rhetorical, didactic or philosophical purposes, but generally not as evidence for a clear-cut genetic relation between Greek and Latin. Lascaris' Florentine speech presents a notable exception.

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[616] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 100 ll. 262-263: 'Ac meo consilio non solum disciplinas a Graecis auctoribus repetes, sed et linguam ipsam tuam…'.

[617] Lydus (*Mag.* 1.5) mentioned Varro and Cato among the authorities for the idea that Romulus and his contemporaries were very well acquainted with Greek – and especially Aeolic Greek – since Evander and the Arcadians had brought it to the Italian peninsula (cf. Cato *Orig.* fr. 19 and Varro *L.* fr. 45).

[618] Van Hal (2010) 38 with Schöpsdau (1992).

[619] Choeroboscus, ed. Hilgard (1889) 134 ll. 11-13: 'ἰδοὺ γὰρ οἱ Αἰολεῖς οὐκ ἔχουσι δυϊκά, ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄποικοι ὄντες τῶν Αἰολέων κέχρηνται τῷ δυϊκῷ ἀριθμῷ' [*Note that the Aeolians do not have a dual, for which reason the Romans, being colonists of the Aeolians, do not have the dual number neither*].

Although Italian humanists held the Latin language at the centre of their sense of *romanitas*,[620] they generally believed that the Latin language had its origin in Greek.[621] This insight underpinned their belief that learning Greek was instrumental to acquiring Latin. Lascaris was well aware of this and used the idea for his own purposes. In the light of his larger argument of ethnic kinship, the topic gained entirely new significance. 'The Latin language is Greek, as they say', Lascaris claimed. 'The ancient Romans used the Greek language, but due to the proximity of the barbarians it was not entirely perfect. The epigrams they incised in bronze and marble with Greek words and letters may stand as evidence to this, but a better indication is the matter itself'.[622] Like the notion that Latin stemmed from Greek, Lascaris probably found the idea of linguistic kinship in Dionysius of Halicarnassus who asserted that the Romans had spoken a language that was a mixture of barbarian and Greek, chiefly Aeolic.[623]

The best way to show the proximity of Latin and Greek through 'the matter itself' was by means of etymology. In the early modern period, the precedence of one language over the other was generally demonstrated by showing that characteristics peculiar to the presupposedly more ancient language were present in the other, supposedly newer language.[624] Lascaris followed this method. In order to reveal the Greekness of Latin he traced 53 individual Latin words to Greek roots according to 15 etymological rules of language change that had to account for the transformation of Greek words into Latin ones. In addition to such obvious loanwords as Latin 'theologia' from 'θεολογία', he also cited less obvious examples such as 'fides' from 'εἴδω' and 'madidus' from 'μυδαλέος'.[625]

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[620] Pade (2012).

[621] Tavoni (1986).

[622] Lascaris, Meschini (1983) 100 ll. 267-270: 'Nam, ut dictum est, lingua Latina Graeca est. Graeca enim veteres Romani utebantur, propter vicinitatem tamen barbarorum non adeo integra: huius indicium vel epigrammata esse possunt, quae in aes et in marmore Graecis et verbis et litteris incidebant, sed maius indicium res ipsa'. It is good to realise that Lascaris' remark about Greek inscriptions was not some imprecise topos, but rather the product of his pioneering interest in epigraphy. On Lascaris' epigraphical investigations see in most detail Pontani (1992a).

[623] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.90.1.

[624] Dubois (1970) 84-85.

[625] For an overview of Lascaris' sample see Appendix 1 on pp. 253-260. For a concise discussion see Meschini (1983) 78-79. See Tavoni (1986) esp. 218-219 (on the etymologies in Lascaris' speech). A more systematic exploration of the Byzantine language sciences remains a desideratum. A first organised attempt into this direction is Robins (1993) but this study is confined to grammaticography.

Lascaris' rules of derivation were basically variations of the classical etymological rules of suppletion, elimination or permutation of letters.[626] Still, his Hellenising etymologies for Latin words cannot be traced to one single source. Without entering into polemics with Latin authorities, Lascaris often tacitly disagreed with the older Latin grammarians as they had usually traced the origin of Latin words to other Latin words. So, for instance, he dismissed the derivation of Latin 'forma' (form) from the verb 'informare' (to shape, inform).[627] By the same token, he dismissed the derivation of Latin 'lac' (milk) from 'liquor' (liquid).[628] In both cases, Lascaris argued that the Latin had evolved from a Greek word through 'anagrammatism', i.e. the transposition of letters with or without further alterations (such as the replacement of Greek word endings by Latin ones). According to Lascaris, 'lac' had evolved from Greek 'γάλα' (milk), while 'forma' stemmed from 'μορφή' (form).

Even if older grammarians had actually traced Latin words to Greek roots, Lascaris more than once disagreed with their analyses. He was, for example, at odds with Isidore of Seville's interpretation of the origin of Latin 'malus' (bad), which the Spanish lexicographer had related to 'black bile which the Greeks called μέλαν'.[629] Instead, Lascaris etymologically 'unfolded' the Latin word into the Greek combination 'μὴ ὅλος' ('not complete') and called this 'etymology with crasis'. Etymology disclosed the true meaning of the Latin word by unfolding it in two separate Greek words that formed a semantic unit 'prefiguring' the meaning of 'malus'. The underlying idea was that something that was 'μὴ ὅλον' amounted to something 'malum'. The 'crasis' then accounted for the phonetic change of the Greek words 'μὴ ὅλος' towards the Latin 'malus' (via a contraction like *'μῆλος').

Lascaris adduced etymological principles (such as anagrammatism) from various sources, including Byzantine commentaries by John Tzetzes and Eustathius. He used these principles in an innovative way. While ancient and medieval etymology had mainly been restricted to Latin or Greek, Lascaris used it to account for the relationship between the two languages. In his explanations of the way in which Greek had developed into Latin, he was decidedly original and in fact produced an exceptionally

[626] Cf. Copeland & Sluiter (2009) 339-340.
[627] The idea is found, e.g., in an anonymous commentary on Donatus, perhaps by Remigius of Auxerre (see Anonymus, ed. Hagen 1870: 251 ll. 18-19).
[628] Cassiod. *Ps.* 118.70 l. 1193 A.
[629] Isid. *Etym.* 10.176.

early attempt to account for the genetic relation between Greek and Latin from a more or less linguistic perspective.

In his elaborate etymological exposé, Lascaris steered away from the Aeolic theory that he knew from most of his ancient sources.[630] He explicitly adduced examples from the Doric dialect to show the close resemblances of Latin to Greek. 'You almost integrally transferred (*transtulisti*) the Doric dialect', he claimed, 'as is shown by words like νύμφα: nympha, φάμα: fama, κόμα: coma, μᾶλα: mala, and similar examples'.[631] Possibly, he had the Dorian connection of Rome in mind here, but we have no evidence that he adhered to the idea, expressed by Plethon, that the Dorians were among the first colonisers of Rome (see chapter 1, pp. 44-45). Generally, Lascaris broadened the notion of cross-linguistic impact of Greek on Latin from the Aeolic dialect to the other dialects of ancient Greek.[632] In this way, he created the impression that Latin had simply derived from Greek and not from one dialect in particular.

Lascaris' etymologies silently support his wider argument that the Latin people had Greek roots. As the ancestors of the Romans came to the Italian peninsula from Greece, it was only to be expected that they imported their language there.[633] However, the transfer of the Greek language also entailed the danger of language change and, in a purist's eyes, degeneration. While Lascaris asserted that the early Romans had spoken Greek ('Latina lingua Graeca est'), he added as in one breath that Latin was not an integral form of Greek due to the 'vicinity of the barbarians'.[634] Although the Latin

[630] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.90.1. Cf. Meschini (1983) 77-78; Tavoni (1986) 218-219.

[631] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 100 ll. 275-276: 'Doricam vero integram transtulistis ut νύμφα: nympha, φάμα: fama, κόμα: coma, μᾶλα: mala et similia'. Lascaris categorised these words as Doric because of their long –α instead of Ionic and Attic –η. Historically, the long –α is shared by all dialects except for Ionic and Attic. This opens the broader question of how Renaissance humanists conceived of the dialectical diversity in ancient Greek, and on the basis of what criteria they distinguished between one dialect and the other. There is no self-standing examination of this problem, yet Raf Van Rooy is planning a research project on the topic for the Centre for the Historiography of Linguistics at the KU Leuven (to be supervised by Pierre Swiggers and Toon Van Hal).

[632] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 100 ll. 275-276.

[633] Also in his epigrams, Lascaris played on the ancient similarities between ancient Greek and Latin. See Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1527) fol. cii^{v}: 'Combibia ut Graii primum, convivia deinde | Dixistis, Cicero, iudice te melius. | Ac si nulla virum vita, non ulla uoluptas | Sit, nisi quando epulis combibiisque vacent'. The text is identical to Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1544) fol. 117^{r}.

[634] Lascaris, ed Meschini (1983) 100 ll. 267-270: 'Nam, ut dictum est, lingua Latina Graeca est. Graeca enim veteres Romani utebantur, propter vicinitatem tamen barbarorum non adeo integra'.

language indicated the close relationship of Greeks and Romans, it also marked an important difference between them. Contact with speakers of other languages (from the Greek viewpoint barbarians by definition) had troubled the Romans' imitation of the Greek language.[635]

For Lascaris, the conservation of language was apparently considerably more precarious than the imitation of ancient Greek examples in military and political pursuits. Such limits to cultural preservation and linguistic imitation colour Lascaris' over-all view of Roman culture to which I will come back in the final section of this part of the chapter. Lascaris used them as a means to maintain the cultural superiority of the Greeks despite their close relationship with the Latins. Before coming back to the way Lascaris emphasised the differences between Greeks and Latins, I will first relate his use of the ancient Greek past in the *Oratio* to the self-representational concerns of his Florentine and Latin audience.

The importance of being ancient

Just as all other Italian communities, so also Lascaris' Florentine audience was preoccupied with the construction of an ancient and honourable past. This quest for antiquity, that gave substance to claims of cultural and political precedence, and was often fuelled by competition with other city states, is an important feature of early modern communities in general (either city states, national groups, or dynasties).[636] Needless to say, the knowledge of the ancient world which the humanists claimed as their specific expertise catered to this concern for antiquity and the quest for cultural and political precedence. Humanists were conscious of the utility of their historical and literary expertise to their patrons. In his famous letter about the Roman origin of Florence, for example, Politianus proudly claimed that through his energies and efforts he had appropriately shown that the subjects of Piero De'Medici were of honourable Roman descent.[637]

By the time Lascaris delivered his oration, the Florentines had experimented with various models to shape their ancient past. In these models, the Trojans, Etruscans, and

[635] In the same way, in his treatise on the Greek alphabet, Lascaris explained that the letters of the Greeks had been deformed by the injuries of time just as the Roman characters had become disfigured due to contact with other 'nationes' (Lascaris, ed. Pontani 1992: 201-202 ll. 61-90).
[636] On the importance of the rivalry between Florence and Milan for the self-presentation of both city states with particular attention to the important contributions of Petrus Candidus Decembrius and Leonardus Brunus see Lentzen (2010) 75-90.
[637] See the second letter of the first book in Politianus, ed. Butler (2006).

Romans all had played a role.[638] Without going into details we may just note here that, by 1493, Florence was generally understood as a Roman colony on Etruscan foundations. The Trojan origin myth of Florence, popular in the Middle Ages, had been substituted by a Roman one. Also, the idea that Florence had been founded by Caesar had been successfully replaced by the idea that Florence originally was a colony of veterans of Sulla who had left Faesulae to settle on the banks of the Arno so that Ugolinus Verinus, for example, could refer to the Florentines as 'syllana gens' in his *De illustratione urbis Florentinae* (1483).[639] A republican origin myth was obviously more consistent with the republican façade, and the image of freedom-loving people, that the Florentine elite wanted to promote. But as the political influence of De'Medici grew, and grew more openly, the republican symbolism ingrained in the Sullan founding myth of Florence became increasingly less appropriate. In his famous letter to Piero De'Medici, Politianus eventually adapted the Roman founding myth of Florence, and argued that the city was not a colony of Sulla's veterans, but dated back to the second Triumvirate. In this way, he introduced a founding myth capable of accommodating less republican forms of government.[640]

But if the Florentines were proud of their Roman roots, they had not forgotten where Florence was situated: in Tuscany, the land of the ancient Etruscans, or Tyrrhenians, who had cultivated the fertile area even before the arrival of the Romans. The idea of Florence as a Roman colony on Etruscan foundation had been promoted mainly in the first book of the *Historiarum florentini populi libri XII*, composed in parts between 1404 and 1442 by the influential Florentine chancellor Leonardus Brunus, and an obligatory read for every Florentine patrician.[641] Brunus, a leading proponent of 'civic

[638] A concise discussion of the Roman origin of Florence (and the role of translations of Plutarch in it) is in Pade (2007) 1: 105-113. On the role of the Roman past in civic identities in northern Italy in the period before the Renaissance properly speaking (1250-1350) see, most recently, Beneš (2011). On the so-called 'Etruscan myth' see the still valuable work of Cipriani (1980) together with Schoonhoven (2010) who argues that not Giovanni Villani (as Cipriani argued) but Giovanni Boccaccio first introduced the Etruscan myth in Florentine discourse.

[639] Cf. Cipriani (1980) 24-25.

[640] On Politianus' views on the origin of Florence and its principal source see particularly Rubinstein (1957).

[641] Brunus' *History of the Florentine People* was regarded and acknowledged as an official Florentine history; it was printed in an Italian translation by Donatus Acciaiolus together with Poggius Bracciolini's continuation of its narrative in Venice in 1476. Cf. Brunus, ed. Hankins (2001) XI. Brunus narrative about the Roman origin of Rome was recalled, for instance, in the

humanism' in Florence,[642] particularly stressed the republican origins of Rome, but also highlighted the Roman-Etruscan duality of the Florentine community, and represented the Roman founders of Florence as dignified successors of the Etruscans despite the military and political strife between Romans and Etruscans in the ancient past.[643]

We cannot know in what detail Lascaris was conscious of past and present debates over the origins of the Florentine people. Yet in his *Florentine Oration*, he touched upon significant elements of the complex image the Florentines had created for themselves in the century or so preceding his appointment as professor of Greek in the city. As we have seen, he touched upon pre-Roman times, and mentioned the Aborigines and the Trojans, who all had their own place on the cultural and ethnic map of the Italian peninsula. One of these pre-Roman peoples, or rather their eponymous king, Tyrrhenus, was specifically singled out as 'vestri nominis auctor, vestrae nobilitatis initium' (*your name-giver, the origin of your excellence*). Just as Leonardus Brunus had identified Tyrrhenus' people with the Etruscans, and had represented Etruscan civilisation as the political, military, and cultural mother of Rome, so Janus Lascaris here tactically played on the Etruscan background of the Florentines. As such, he accepted the story that had been refuted by his main source in this part of his speech, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, namely the story that Tyrrhenus, the son of Heracles and the Lydian Omphale, came to Italy, and chased the Pelasgians from their homes.[644]

But even though Lascaris alluded to the pre-Roman Etruscan roots of the Florentines as Tuscans, Rome is more emphatically present. Thus, he mentioned many Romans among the ancient forebears of the Florentines. His selection of names is very

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influential *Italia illuminata* by Blondus Flavius. See Blondus, ed. White (2005) 69 (§2.26). It was anticipated by Salutati on which see Ullman (1963) 75.

[642] Brunus was a 'civic humanist' in that he was a leading figure in 'the literary and educational reform movement directed at the political classes of the Italian city states' whose aim it was to improve not so much the institutions of government as the morality of leaders (see Hankins in Brunus, ed. Hankins 2006: IX).

[643] On the interrelation of Romans and Etruscans see Brunus, ed. Hankins (2006) 24-27 (§1.19-20). Note that in Brunus' account, the Etruscans are always regarded as respectable opponents, and that their final defeat was attributed to anything but their lack of courage and military skill (the presence of the Gauls, internal discord, or adverse Fate). Cf. Brunus, ed. Hankins (2006) 44-47 (§1.34). Like the Roman model, also the Etruscan myth was adaptable to the changing political climate in the second half of the Quattrocento so that the monarchical figure of Porsenna grew in popularity in the course of the fifteenth century. See Cipriani (1980) 23-36.

[644] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.25-30. Lascaris' version is also the story told in Brunus, ed. Hankins (2006) 18-21 (§1.13). There were many other stories about Tyrrhenus circulating in Antiquity. Cf. Luciana Aigner-Foresti's useful overview article on 'Tyrrhenus' in *NP*.

inclusive, covering all phases of Roman history from its foundation by Romulus until the establishment of the Principate by Augustus. Lascaris tactically glossed over the question of whether the Florentines were the most rightful heirs to either republican or imperial Rome, but accepted and promoted the basic idea that the Florentines had descended from the Romans (therefore, he explicitly called Florence a 'Romanorum colonia', a *colony of the Romans*). His emphasis on the Greek roots of everything Trojan, Etruscan, Latin, or Roman seems to have been a novelty in Florence. In his Florentine history, for example, Brunus only recalled that Pisa's oldest origins were not native, but Greek – but he did not attach particular value to the fact.[645] In this way, Lascaris both corroborated and enriched the mnemonic tissue of the Florentine community.

Although Lascaris stressed the Greek roots of the pre-Roman peoples of Italy and the Romans themselves, he was tacit about how the different pre-Roman peoples he heaped up in his speech must be seen to relate to each other and to the Romans. As a consequence, the *genus Latinum* itself is an exceptionally inclusive and undifferentiated whole, comprising pre-Latin ancestors such as the foundational Etruscans, the Latins (traditionally seen as the union of Aborigines with Aeneas' Trojans), the Romans, and finally also the Florentines.[646] For Lascaris, what really mattered was that all these peoples were related to the ancient Greeks. Therefore, he readily manipulated his sources so as to demonstrate the Greek origin of Latin culture. For example, he tacitly repressed different versions of the origins of the Sabines in favour of the version told in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[647] Apart from the Spartan thesis, three other competing theories regarding the origin of the Sabine people circulated in Antiquity, but they go unmentioned.[648] Lascaris did on the other hand not hesitate to disagree with his main authority, if it bolstered his central argument. As we have seen, his representation of Tyrrhenus, for example, followed a version Dionysius of Halicarnassus had refuted.

In this way, Janus Lascaris avoided being too outspoken on anything except the Greek origin of everything. This means that he did not present a coherent narrative of ethnic and cultural change from the Etruscans and Latins through the Romans to his own day as we find it, for instance, in Brunus. Rather he paraded resounding ancient names he must have recognised as somehow relevant to the sense of identity of his Florentine audience without going into much details about how these names must be

[645] Brunus, ed. Hankins (2006) 98-99 (1.78).
[646] On the traditional definition of the Latins see Gabriella Poma's article 'Latini' in *NP*.
[647] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49.4f.
[648] Cf. Gabriella Vanotti's article 'Sabini' in *NP*.

seen together. In so doing, he on the one hand tactically avoided the ongoing debates over the origin of Florence, but on the other touched upon all relevant founding peoples, making his Hellenisation of Florence as inclusive as possible. Lascaris could of course not foretell that five years after delivering his speech the misohellenist Annius of Viterbo would play havoc with the Greek roots of the Florentines. In his forgery of Myrsilus' *De origine Italiae et Turrenorum*, Annius traced the history of the Etruscan people back to the time of the Deluge, exalted the role they had played in the history of the Italian peninsula, and so fuelled Florentine pride without recourse to foreign Greek roots.[649]

On one point, however, Lascaris did not avoid disagreement or even polemics. This concerns the etymology of the very name of Florence, 'Florentia'. At the end of the first part of his oration, Lascaris once more exhorted the assembled listeners to promote Greek studies, so that later generations would not deride them for their ungratefulness. 'Especially you', Lascaris addressed the Florentines, 'seem to have approached antiquity closer than the other city states of Italy regarding your descent, language, and culture to such a degree, that you can easily discern a colony of the Romans [in Florence], if you take into account, among other things, the very name of your city, as it is in my opinion not so much derived from the river as it is from the sacred name of the City'.[650] With his last remark on the etymology of the name of Florence, Lascaris directly took up a problem also addressed by Politianus in his letter to Piero De'Medici.[651] Politianus had argued that Florence was called 'Florentia' after the sacred name of the city of Rome, 'Flora', but that the ancient inhabitants of the banks of the *flowing* Arno had accordingly

[649] Cf. Cipriani (1980) 33-36.

[650] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 99 ll. 236-241: '… et vos praecipue, viri Florentini, quanto et genere et lingua et civilitate prae caeteris Italiae civitatibus ad antiquitatem videmini propius accessisse, ut Romanorum coloniam facile possis dignoscere, si, praeter alia, vel nomen ipsum civitatis adverteris, quando non magis a fluvio quam a sacro urbis nomine contenderim esse denominatam'.

[651] Meschini (1983) 86 suggests that Politianus argued either in favour of the 'Flora'-etymology, or of the 'Fluentini'-etymology, but this is not the case. In fact, Politianus adduced the 'Fluentini'-etymology as an additional explanation for the fact that in some of his sources the Florentines appear as 'Fluentini'. Cf. Politianus, ed. Butler (2006) 11. See also Brunus, ed. Hankins (2006) 10-11 (1.3) who claims that 'Fluentia' was established by the veterans of Sulla leaving Faesulae, and that the name later changed into 'Florentia' ('sive corrupto ut in plerisque vocabulo sive quod miro floreret successu, pro Fluentia Florentiam dicere', *perhaps just through the ordinary process by which words are corrupted, or perhaps because of the wonderfully successful flowering of the city,* Fluentia *became* Florentia).

been called 'Fluentini'.[652] Lascaris took the opportunity to disagree with his Italian rival by completely rejecting the 'Fluentini'-etymology, preferring the idea that 'Florentia' stemmed from 'Flora'. In this way, he flattered the Florentines once more by stressing their close connection with ancient Rome.[653] Significantly, the 'Flora'-etymology enabled Lascaris to connect Florence, tacitly, both to that other New Rome sometimes called 'Anthousa' in Greek, 'Florentia' in Latin: Constantinople,[654] and to the city of Athens whose name, according to some, was not derived from that of Pallas Athena, but from 'anthos', 'flora', flower.[655] In the very name of Florence, then, Rome and Greece intimately coexisted. Against the background of Florentine preoccupations with Roman roots, Janus Lascaris' alternative exhortation to Greek studies gives substance to the idea that Byzantine scholars skilfully manipulated the deepest concerns of their Italian audience.[656]

Greek Romans – or how Greek is Greek?

The previous sections explored those aspects of Lascaris' speech that showed that the Greeks were not an *alienum genus* and that the Latins were part of the Greek tradition. Apart from an ethnic origin, the Latins also shared a common history and a language with the Greeks. Although Lascaris strategically identified Latins and Greeks, there were limits to the identity of both peoples. We have already seen that Lascaris pointed at the differences between Greek and Latin. He also noted the 'vicinity' of the barbarians who had contaminated the Greek language in Italy. Even though Lascaris claimed that Greeks and Latins could be considered to be 'one and the seem people', in practice he preferred to differentiate between 'us, Greeks' and 'you, Latins'. Such strategies of differentiation underpinned the distinctiveness of the Greeks, and especially their claim to cultural precedence, which Lascaris needed to formulate his claim of cultural debt. So,

[652] Politianus, ed. Butler (2006) 11.
[653] On 'Flora' as the hieratic name of Rome see Cairns (2010) 263.
[654] Lydus *Mens.* 4.75; Eust. *Dion. Per.* 803. Cf. Politianus, ed. Butler (2006) 11. Lascaris was in the possession of a manuscript containing excerpts of the first four books of Lydus' *De mensibus* (BAV, Barb. gr. 194) on which see Ferreri (2002). The name 'Anthusa' for Constantinople is also recorded in, for instance, Maphaeus' *Commentarii urbani*, first published in 1506 (see Maphaeus 1552: col. 245).
[655] So, for instance, Lascaris' contemporary Christophorus Landinus magnified Florence as a second Athens through this etymology in his *Comento sopra la Comedia*, ed. Procaccioli (2001) 1: 238. On Landinus' magnification of Florence in general see Lentzen (2010) 185-198.
[656] Bisaha (2004) 117.

for example, when he concluded that 'the earliest beginnings of the Romans stem from the heart of Greece', he added that the Romans

> 'were trained through the laws of the Greeks, through the customs of the Greeks. Through *our* disciplines, through *our* arts the Roman imperium was enlarged; over lands and seas Italian fame and Latin virtue reached the extreme borders of the earth through the travelling example of the Greeks'.[657]

Making Roman history dependent upon Greek successes in this way, Lascaris in fact denied and annihilated any form of positive distinctiveness for the Romans *qua* Romans.[658] Although the Romans had not acquired their power by a whim of fortune, they had done so by emulating the example of the cognate Greeks. Their main virtue was, in other words, their successful imitation of the best practices of their Greek ancestors. Where they diverged from the Greek path, they naturally erred.

This also means that Lascaris maintained the traditional Greek contempt for Latin literature. Although the Romans had been successful in imitating the deeds of Greek politicians, they had been less successful in other domains. While he praised the important protagonists of Roman history as successful imitators of the Greeks, he did not praise the Roman authors in the same manner.[659] He praised Roman heroes such as Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Gaius Mucius Scaevola and many others for having imitated Greek examples to the point of becoming 'Greek souls in Roman bodies'.[660] However, the Roman writers were not at all successful imitators of Greek examples. Instead of this, according to Lascaris, the whole of Roman literature was a futile adaptation of Greek literature. To illustrate his point, the Greek professor in his speech unfavourably compared lines from Latin authors with verses from Greek authors in the manner of Macrobius.[661] Here, the cultural transfer from Greece to Italy is not described in terms of active and laudable imitation (*imitari, sequi*) but in the more passive vocabulary of

[657] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 96 ll. 157-161: 'E media Graecia sunt Romanorum primordia, Graecorum legibus, Graecorum sunt moribus instituti; nostris disciplinis, nostris artibus Romanum est ampliatum imperium; nomen Italum et virtus Latina exemplo Graecorum usa viatico per maria ac terras in extremos orbis fines penetravit'.
[658] Meschini (1983) 77: 'l'implicita negazione d'ogni specificità nazionale e autoctona romana'.
[659] On his views on Latin literature see J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 106-110 ll. 446-540 with discussion on pp. 81-82, 85.
[660] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 97-98.
[661] Cf. Meschini (1983) 85.

transferral (*transferre*) or even receiving (*accipere*).[662] In this way, Lascaris clearly suggested that Roman authors only made inferior *translations* of Greek originals, but could not even begin aspiring to imitate their Greek examples and to equal them.[663]

In his *Florentine Oration* Lascaris was rather diplomatic in his attitude towards Latin literature, if we compare it to views expressed in his Latin epigrams, in which biting mockery was more appropriate than in academic orations.[664] An autograph marginal note in the Vatican codex containing Lascaris' speech reveals that, if he had the chance, he was more openly dismissive of Latin literature. Lascaris' note is an elegiac distich in which he responded to Propertius' bold claim that the bards of Rome and Greece ought to yield to Vergil's *Aeneid*, which is even better than Homer's *Iliad*.[665] Lascaris' sarcastic response is as follows:

> 'Nescio quid maius fassus nescire, Properti.
> 'Cedite!' reclamas: caedier es meritus.[666]
>
> *You admitted, Propertius, that you don't know anything greater [than the* Aeneis*]. You exclaim: 'Yield'. But you deserve a beating.*

The distich was later reprinted in the Paris-edition of Lascaris' epigrams, first published in print by Jacobus Tussanus in 1527.[667] In other epigrams of the same collection,

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[662] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 108-109.

[663] For example, Lascaris invites those holding the opinion that Roman literature is superior to Greek to compare two lines from Vergil's *Aeneid* with two from Sophocles' *Aias*. J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 108 ll. 482-488: 'Percipient etiam praeter infinita Homerica utrum dilucidius et aptius: "Disce puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, | Fortunam ex aliis," an Sophocleum illud, unde hoc Vergilius transtulit: ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὅμοιος καὶ γένοι' ἂν οὐ κακός' *[Let them see (leaving aside the infinite number of Homeric borrowings) which of these passages is more lucid and apt: 'Disce puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, Fortunam ex aliis', or this passage from Sophocles, from which Vergil translated this: 'ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ'ἄλλ' ὅμοιος καὶ γένοι' ἂν οὐ κακός']*. The passages quoted are *Aen.* 12.435-436 and *Ai.* 550-551.

[664] IJsewijn & Sacré (1998) 112-116. It is also for this reason that in humanist culture Neo-Latin epigrams are generally regarded as a useful medium for personal attacks and slander (cf. Enenkel 2009: 8).

[665] Propertius 2.34.65-66: 'Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai: | Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade'.

[666] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 106, *apparatus criticus* ad. l. 439; Lascaris (1544) fol. 17^{v}. The punctuation is mine. The poem is briefly discussed by Klecker (1994) 211-212, who argues that Lascaris' epigram must be seen as an attack on Vergil rather than Propertius. Cf. Wallner (1998) 187.

Lascaris expressed contempt for both Vergil and Cicero, the two icons of ancient Latin poetry and prose. So, for instance, he openly attacked both of them for having scorned the Greeks, their habits and their language. In one epigram, he called Cicero a 'busybody' and a 'ridiculous consul' without weight.[668] In an epigram against Vergil, Lascaris moreover presented Vergil's works as a lasting monument to his 'ungrateful and degenerate mind', especially regarding the Greeks. These examples sufficiently show that he maintained Greek cultural bias against Latin literature. The Greek professor recognised the Greek origins of the Latins, and valued their political and military successes as imitations of Greek examples, but he at the same time reimposed Greek superiority. He did implicitly so in his attempt to recast Roman achievements as successful imitation of Greek examples; explicitly in his devaluation of the Latin language and Latin literature, mildly in his speech, more openly in his epigrams.

Unfortunately, no first-hand responses to Lascaris' speech have survived so that we do not know how the audience originally responded to his bold claims. As it is to be expected that the listeners were largely philhellenic, it might be that they saw it at least partly as a flattering gesture by Lascaris. At the same time, the idea that Latin literature was inferior to Latin was less likely to meet general applause. Gyraldus later commented about Lascaris that 'if he had not derided Vergil for being ignorant of his art in an epigram (…), he could have been compared with every other poet of the Greek

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[667] Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1527) fol. cv^{r} = Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1544) fol. 17^{v}. For the dedicatory letter of Tussanus see most recently J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1976) 3-4.

[668] Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1527) fol. cii^{r}: 'In Graios, Domiti, miraris scripta Maronis: | Qui memorem, cur non de Cicerone querar, | Qui gentem toties mores linguamque lacessit | Graiugenum, verbis nec modus ullus inest. | Nil mirum, livor vatis nos aggravat; alter | Nos premit, ut libuitque, evehit ad superbos | Ῥόσκιον. haud aliter divum donum insit, et artem | Damnat, quae a Musis nobile nomen habet. Hinc inde, hic illic sedet is, residetque, vagatur. | Ardelio, consul ridiculus, levis est' *[You wonder at Maro's writings against the Greeks, Domitius: Why would I not recall Cicero here, why would I not complain about him? Cicero, the man who so many times slandered the Greek race, its customs and language, and there is no limit to his words. No wonder that the poet's hostility irritates us; the other one (i.e. Cicero) downgrades us and extols Roscius, as it pleased him, to the stars (in his speech* Q. Rosc.*). But on the other hand he condemns the art which derives its noble name from the Muses for it has not the gift of the gods in it. From here to there, and here and there, he sits, resides, and wanders. Busybody, ridiculous consul, you are futile]*. I have given 'lacessit' instead of 'lacessat' after Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1544) fol. 15^{v}. Zielinski (1967) 353 believes that Lascaris attacks the Vergilian adagium 'timeo Danaos et dona ferentes' in these lines.

nation'.[669] For those not so well disposed towards Greek culture, Lascaris' speech must have been an outrageous provocation. Lascaris' anti-Latin epigrams against Cicero and Vergil, for instance, did not remain unnoticed to Floridus Sabinus, who castigated Lascaris for them more than forty years after he had delivered his *Oratio*. In his passionate defense of the Latin language, Floridus attacked all who, in his eyes, had derided the Latin language and its best authorities. Among Floridus' targets were Argyropulus, Marullus and Janus Lascaris, whom he all despised as 'Graeculi', or *Greeklings*. In the context of the Florentines' quest for antiquity and cultural precedence in Italy, Lascaris' Hellenisation of the Romans was a strategical move to stimulate his audience to begin or continue Greek studies. Still, Lascaris perhaps overdetermined the Italian admiration and imitation of Greek examples. Cultural appropriation does normally not imply full cultural assimilation. Just as Americans imitating European styles do generally not decline their sense of distinctive Americanness, so Italian humanists writing Greek epigrams did not reject their distinctiveness as Latins. While a Greek ancestry could of course elevate their cultural prestige vis-à-vis other groups, the Italian outlook was in the last analysis Roman and not Greek; Italian humanists viewed Greek culture through a Latin and Roman lens. Lascaris' speech on the contrary presupposed Greek precedence, while it did not recognise Latin claims to the same.

Lascaris' Oration *as a rebuttal of anti-Greek sentiment*

Notwithstanding the fact that Janus Lascaris in the end maintained Greek superiority over Latin culture, he still had to portray the Greeks in a favourable light. Apart from an alternative exhortation to Greek studies, Lascaris' argument also reads as an elaborate answer to all those humanists who saw the Byzantine Greeks still as enemies of some sort. In this context, we must realise that Lascaris emphasised that the ancient Greeks had always liberally shared their knowledge with the peoples of the world. At the very beginning of his speech, he sketched the extent of Greek colonisation for his audience, chronologically reaching back to times immemorial, and geographically comprising Europe, Asia, and Africa. The oldest examples of Greek colonisation Lascaris mentioned (those of Dionysius and Heracles) pertain to the extirpation of disorder. Lascaris first mentioned Dionysius in connection with India to mark the eastward extent of Greek

[669] Gyraldus, ed. Wotke (1894) 53: 'Hic ergo Laschares non solum Graece et Latine doctus, sed et regum et principum agendis tractandisque negotiis fuit ideoneus, et nisi Vergilium in epigrammate proscidisset ut artis ignarum (…) hic cum alio quocumque Graece nationis poeta fuisset conferendus'.

civilisation, while the 'Pillars of Heracles' symbolised its westward expansion. The southward expansion of Greek culture was symbolised by the Libyan cities of Cyrene (the birthplace of Eratosthenes) and Barce. According to Lascaris, Alexander the Great was the main protagonist in this, and also stands for the moral and ethical dimensions of the Greek mission. In a passage that is an almost literal translation of Plutarch, Lascaris explained how Alexander had civilised large parts of the world thanks to his teacher Aristotle's philosophy. He founded cities and detached Greek magistrates all over Asia, so that 'he transformed [there] wild and uncivilised into a mild and civilised life'.[670] While the Iranian Arachosians learned how to cultivate their lands as a result of Alexander's mission, Lascaris argued, the Persians discarded both their habit of matriphilia and their impious opinions.[671] In this way, Lascaris created the impression of an almost continuous *diaspora* of Greeks who disseminated their culture not so much for the advance of their own power, but for the benefit of mankind.[672] The exiled Byzantines thus took on their missionary roles in the footsteps of their ancient forebears, and Lascaris would have been pleased to hear Simos Menardos declaring about himself and other Greek expatriates in Italy that they 'performed for a second time, and with more success, the great work which their ancestors sixteen centuries before that had fulfilled in Rome'.[673]

It is important to note that the way Lascaris here represented the role of the Greeks in history counteracted the Italian prejudice that the Byzantine Greeks would be a self-satisfied clan of secretive purists. Anti-Greek sentiments were not confined to men such as Annius, who disliked the study of Greek perhaps even less than the Greeks

[670] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 93 ll. 84-103 (cf. ll. 94-103 with Plut. *Alex. fort.* 328e, c).

[671] As we have seen in the previous chapter, the moral and religious dimensions of Alexander's Empire had been elaborated with particular force by George Trapezuntius some decades before. In his *Comparatio philosophorum*, Trapezuntius had argued that through the Greek-speaking Empire of Alexander the Great and the philosophy of his intellectual mentor Aristotle the world had been prepared for the Word of God.

[672] J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 93 l. 89-90: '… qui non magis propagandi imperii causa quam beneficio hominum orbem peragraverunt'. Note that Lascaris' Greek culture myth is almost the exact antipode of Laurentius Valla's Roman culture myth in his preface to the *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (for which see chapter 2, p. 58). Even so, just as his Byzantine colleagues, Lascaris did not respond directly to the arguments put forward by Valla (whose main criticism of Greek had been its multiformity in contradistinction to the uniformity of Latin).

[673] Menardos (1909) 6-7. Menardos' view is indebted to Giacomo Leopardi's essay on George Gemistos Plethon, from which he cites explicitly (cf. Leopardi, ed. Ranieri 1851: 341).

themselves.[674] As a matter of fact, Lascaris' main rival at the Florentine Studio, Angelus Politianus, himself a renowned Hellenist, had expressed his bitter feelings about the Greeks of his day. Both Lascaris and Politianus taught Greek in Florence, both wrote epigrams in Greek, both were eager to gain and maintain support from De'Medici.[675] Add to this that they both fancied the learned Alessandra Scala,[676] and it is obvious that they were hardly amicable colleagues. In the very year Lascaris delivered his speech, for example, they quarreled over the relative merits of their Greek translations of a Latin poem about Hermaphroditus.[677] More significant is Politianus' harsh judgement on his Byzantine colleagues which he voiced in the very first chapter of his famous *Miscellanea*. 'It is almost inexpressible in words', he wrote there, 'how unwilling this nation (*ista natio*) is to allow us, Latin men, to participate in its language and its learning. They think that we possess the scrapings of Hellenism', he continues, 'its slices and its skin: they the fruit, the whole, and the core'.[678]

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[674] Thorn-Wickert (2006) 51-54 suggests as one possibility that in 1400 the first Byzantine professor of Greek in Italy, Manuel Chrysoloras, stopped lecturing in Florence due to such ethnic discrimination as signalled by Gaza.

[675] The table in Verde (1973) 362-364 shows that Lascaris was hired to teach 'filosofia et poetica' for 168 florins in 1492, 'quot etiam habuit Demetrius graecus cum primum fuit conductus ad eandem lecturam de anno 1475…' [*as much as the Greek Demetrius [Chalcondylas] had when he was first called to occupy the same post from the year 1475*]. For comparison, from 1491 until his death in 1494, Politianus earned 450 florins per year (Verde 1937: 26-28). A comparative table is available in Celenza (2010) 8. On Politianus' courses between 1490 and 1494, focussing on Greek philosophy, and in particular Aristotle's ethics, see Celenza (2010) 5-17. For the poetical rivalry between Lascaris and Politianus see the introduction to Politianus, ed. Pontani (2002) XLVI-XLVIII.

[676] Politianus, ed. Pontani (2002) 130.

[677] Disliking Politianus' Greek version of the poem, Lascaris produced his own, vituperating Politianus' Hellenism in another Greek epigram at that. Politianus, ed. Pontani (2002) 234-240; J. Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1976) 50-53, 82-83; Legrand (1885) CXXXVII-CXXXIX.

[678] *Misc.* 1, quoted from Politianus, ed. Maïer & Del Lungo (1971): 'Caeterum (ut homo Graecus) perquam ferebat iniquo animo nobilem illam, nec (ut Theodorus Gaza putat) importunam Marci Tullij Ciceronis exclamationem, qua Graeciam uerborum interdum inopem, quibus se putat abundare, non eloquentius fortasse, quam uerius pronunciauit. Ob id igitur subiratus latinae copiae genitori & principi Graecus magister, etiam dictitare ausus est (quod nunc quoque uix aures patiuntur) ignarum fuisse non philosophiae modo Ciceronem, sed etiam (si dijs placet) Graecarum literarum. *Vix enim dici potest, quam nos aliquando, id est, Latinos homines, in participatum suae linguae, doctrinaeque non libenter admittat ista natio. Nos enim quisquilias tenere literarum, se frugem; nos praesegmina, se corpus; nos putamina, se nucleum credit*'. Emphasis mine.

Politianus aired his opinion in the context of his criticism of his former teacher Johannes Argyropulus, which is perhaps the best known *lotta* between a Greek and a Latin.[679] Leaving aside the technical details of the quarrel,[680] it suffices to recall that, according to Politianus, Argyropulus had unjustly attacked Cicero regarding a matter of interpretation in Aristotle because the Roman philosopher had claimed that Latin was more copious than Greek.[681] It is significant that Politianus argued that Argyropulus' alleged attack on Cicero had to do with his Greek background. As he was of that nation, according to Politianus, the Byzantine could not stand the idea that the Greek language was inferior to Latin. So, since Politianus represented his former Byzantine teacher as a typical example of his nation's hermetic arrogance, his response to Argyropulus reveals how even a philhellenic humanist could exploit ethnic stereotypes in order to discredit a renowned Byzantine scholar and the Byzantine scholars (*ista natio*) in general.[682]

Lascaris explicitly argued against ethnic stereotyping of this kind in one of his Latin epigrams against Vergil. In the epigram, Lascaris' castigated the Roman poet for propagating the idea that the character of all Greeks could be known from the crimes of only one of them. In doing so, he alluded to one of the famous anti-Greek lines of Vergil's *Aeneid*: 'crimine ab uno disce omnes' (*Aen.* 2.65). 'We derive the character of one man from the many', Lascaris riposted, 'while you teach that you may know all from

[679] Sabbadini (1885) 84.

[680] The debate revolved around the question whether Aristotle attributed 'ἐνδέλεχεια' (continuity or continuous motion) or 'ἐντέλεχεια' (complete reality) to the soul, but it was also a debate about the philosophical authority of Cicero. While Cicero attributed 'ἐνδέλεχεια' to the soul (*Tusc.* 1.10.22), Aristotle spoke of 'ἐντέλεχεια' (*De an.* 412a). Either Cicero originally wrote 'ἐντέλεχεια' (which was then subsequently corrupted in the text transmission), but misunderstood the meaning of the word, or he simply misquoted Aristotle. This is not the place to elaborate on the details of the debate. For more details on it see Cammelli (1941b) 175-179 and Sabbadini (1885) 83-85. On the 'ἐντέλεχεια'-debate in particular see Garin (1937) with an exposition of Argyropulus' and Politianus' respective positions on 178-182.

[681] Cicero, *De fin.*, 1.3.10, 3.2.5. Politianus does not specify where or when Argyropulus aired this criticism, and it seems that between 1457 and 1489 such an opinion of Argyropulus did not provoke any further discussion in Florentine circles. Cf. Godman (1998) 85.

[682] It must be noted here that in other contexts, Politianus had been more hospitable to the Byzantines. In some of his epigrams, he lavishly praised not only to Argyropulus, but also Theodore Gaza and Demetrius Chalcondylas for their Greek learning. Politianus' Greek poems to the Byzantine scholars are best available with an Italian translation in Politianus, ed. Lanni & Funari (1994) 59-82. Moreover, in an elegiac poem in Latin to Bartholomaeus Fontius, Politianus favourably recalled Andronicus Callistus whose lessons he had attended. See the Latin text in Maïer (1966) 72-77 (esp. ll. 193-198). On the relation between Politianus and his Greek masters in Florence see Maïer (1966) 24-28 (Argyropulus) and 30-34 (Callistus and Chalcondylas).

one'. He criticised this line of reasoning as being both unfair (as it harms innocent members of a group) and logically incongruous (as it violates the rules of induction).[683] Lascaris' criticism can be easily transferred to Politianus' case, as he seems to do what Vergil taught his readers to do, that is to judge a group on the basis of one member's perceived attitude. Lascaris' poem is not only a rebuttal of the ancient Roman poet, but a universal criticism of all who use stereotypes to blacken the reputation of individuals. The general tenor of his *Florentine Oration* equally rejects the idea that the Greeks were a hermetic and alien people, but instead shows that they had always shared their culture liberally, as he himself would do at the Florentine Studio.

This is, of course, in line with the function of such *praelectiones*, which was not only to introduce the course subject, but also the teacher. In his speech, Janus Lascaris acknowledged the fact that in the case of Greek studies there was potential ethnic opposition not only against the subject of Greek literature, but also against the Byzantine Greeks who so often taught it. He used the opportunity of the *praefatio* to kill two birds with one stone. Apart from the traditional arguments in favour of Greek studies, he took things to a higher level by attaching the study of Greek to the ancient

[683] Lascaris, ed. Tussanus (1544) fols. 15^{r}-15^{v}: 'In gentem inveheris, spernis praecepta magistri | Parthenia: nullum deprimit ille genus, | Ne insontis laedat generis. Tu 'crimine ab uno | Discite', inquis, 'Danaos', quod nihil ad Libyas. | Praeterea a multis qualisnam, inducimus, unus. | Ex uno cunctos discere at ipse doces | Tyrrhenos, Ligures perstringis, parcere cuiquam | Nescis. Me Harpocratem quilibet esse iubet. | Cum larvis certas, 'defuncto parce', reclamant: | 'Respondere nequit, lex vetat esse reum'. | Aio: 'sed in scriptis nos elevat. Illa supersunt | Ingrati indicium degenerisque animi' *[You inveigh against my people, you despise your master's Parthenian precept. He downgrades no people lest he harm the innocent members of a race. You, however, say: 'Get to know the Greeks from the crime of one of them'* (= Verg. *Aen.* 2.65-66)*, but this is not relevant to the Libyans. We moreover derive the character of one man from the many, while you teach the Tyrrhenians how to get to know all from one, you belittle the Ligurians, and you do not know how to spare anyone. Someone advises me to be Harpocrates: 'You fight against phantoms', they protest, 'spare the dead. He cannot answer, the law forbids to accuse him'. I say: 'But in his writings he disparages us. They remain as evidence of his ungrateful and degenerate mind'].* According to Macrobius, Parthenius of Nicaea taught Vergil Greek language and literature (Macr. *Sat.* 5.17.18; cf. Gell. *NA* 13.27.1, 9.9.3). I have not been able to find a reference to such a precept as alluded to here in the surviving fragments of his works. Harpocrates is a Hellenistic deity of silence and secrecy who is depicted with a finger on his lips (after the Egyptian child god Horus). 'Be Hippocrates' is proverbial for 'keep silent'. The text of Lascaris' poem is also reprinted in Wallner (1998) 188 and Klecker (1994) 211 after the edition of Tussanus (1527) fols. ci^{v}-cii^{r} which reads 'nos docet hic' instead of 'at ipse doces', 'perstringit' instead of 'perstringis' and 'nescit' instead of 'nescis' (in which case we must understand 'quilibet' adverbially in the sense of 'quolibet'). In addition, the 1527-edition gives 'insonteis' instead of 'insontis' and 'ais' instead of 'inquis'.

Greek origins of the Florentines. This was a highly strategical move enabling him not only to valorise Greek studies at a more fundamental level for his Italian audience (namely that of communal belonging), but also to safeguard, or to maintain, the image of the Byzantine Greeks in general. Through his speech, then, Lascaris not only raised the cultural and symbolical value of Greek studies for the Florentines, he equally invalidated the suspicions of exclusivism or hermeticism, as aired for instance by his academic rival Politianus. Through his emphasis on the Roman origin of the Florentines, and the Greek origin of everything Latin, Lascaris at the same time corroborated and adapted the mnemonic tissue of the Florentine community he addressed. As Lascaris' speech reframed the mutual relations of Byzantines and Italians through this lens, it also opened new avenues for attaining an ethnically and culturally based co-operation between both groups. In this way, Lascaris' identification of Italians with Greeks and his self-representation as a Greek converge both to promote his own status as a Greek professor of Greek among the Italians, and to defend the Greeks generally against Italian prejudice.

Another Lascaris: Greeks in Calabria and Sicily

Although Janus Lascaris tried to transform the Florentines into Latinised Hellenes, there never emerged a sustained 'Florentine Greekness' among the Florentine humanists. While they emphasised their cultural and political distinctiveness as Romans, ancient Greece remained a foreign province for most of them. This was different in Sicily and Calabria, where the quest for Greek antiquity was bound up with a desire for cultural distinctiveness and more political self-determination. What Janus Lascaris did not achieve in Florence, his relative Constantine Lascaris did in Sicily and Calabria.[684] Beginning with the *Annales omnium temporum* by Ransanus (composed in the second half of the fifteenth century) and followed by Aretius' *De situ insulae Siciliae libellus* (1537), the quest for Sicily's glorious Greek antiquity emerged as an important element in Sicilian attempts to represent the island as a culturally distinguished region. It has been suggested that in this context, Constantine Lascaris' activity in Messina from 1476 until his death in 1501 helped to shape the idea of a distinctive 'Sicilia graeca' that sought to achieve independence from its Aragonese viceroys.[685] He especially did so between

[684] For information about Constantine Lascaris' life I refer to the valuable contributions of Martínez Manzano (1994) 6-32 together with (1998) 3-28.

[685] Pietrasanta (2003) 704-709. Cf. Bianca (1988b) 473-476 ('Le *Vitae* costituivano, anch'esse in definitiva, uno "scavo nelle origini", alla ricerca e alla affermazione di quello gloriosa *traditio*

the 1470s and 1490s via a series of treatises regarding the Greek philosophers who had worked and lived in Calabria and Sicily. He probably sent his texts in different redactions to different addressees before they were finally printed in 1499.[686]

Constantine Lascaris considered the ancient Hellenes to be the common ancestors of the Byzantines and the Sicilians. When he sent Johannes Gattus a manuscript of his Sicilian biographies, for instance, he praised the bishop of Catania – a Sicilian by birth – as a descendant of the famous Hellenes.[687] This privileged connection with the ancient Greeks and their culture made Sicily and Calabria superior to other places in Italy. In a letter addressed to the Spanish philosopher and poet Juan Pardo, Lascaris even voiced pronouncedly anti-Italian sentiments as regards the other non-Greek parts of the Italian peninsula. 'I do not even want to *see* Rome, the new Babylon and the nurse of all things bad', he explained. 'I avoid hearing about ungrateful Naples: I have experienced it'.[688] For him, the decline of these cities resulted from the absence of Greeks and Greek learning. Lascaris complained that Italian sponsors were so greedy that renowned

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antiqua di vita e di potere… ') and Bianca (1988c) 152-153. On the genesis of the idea of a 'Sicilia graeca' and its political and cultural implications in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see Pietrasanta (2003) with rich bibliographical references in the notes.

[686] The text has been transmitted in Latin, but it seems likely that it was originally composed in Greek; Martínez Manzano (1994) 152-155 conjectured that the original Greek text was translated into Latin by, or with the help of, Ludovicus Saccanus. Although a critical edition of the text is still a serious desideratum, a few Italian scholars have made valuable contributions to clarify the history and complicated context of the treatise. See in particular Bottari (1992), Bianca (1988b), Moscheo (1988), Pedivellano (1956). The *Vitae* survive in two redactions, the first comprising only Sicilian biographies, the second both Sicilian and Calabrian lives. The first redaction of the text is known from a transcription by Vito Maria Amico in a letter to Domenico Schiavo of March 18, 1756, but the text equally survives in two manuscripts (BAV, Vat. lat. 2930 and Oxon. lat. misc. ε 80, fols. 3^{v}-12^{v}). The second redaction was first printed by Wilhelm Schömberg in Messina in 1499 (Lascaris 1499), while an adapted edition by Franciscus Maurolicus appeared in 1562 (as part of the *Sicanicarum rerum compendium*). The second redaction is most easily available is Lascaris, ed. Migne (1866), following Lascaris, ed. Fabricius (1728), ultimately going back on Maurolicus' edition. Copies of Lascaris (1499) are extremely rare. Dibdin Frognall (1822) 292-293 mentioned a copy in the library collection of George John Earl Spencer (cf. Grässe 1867: 374). The only surviving copy I was able to localise is in The John Rylands University Library of Manchester University. Unfortunately, I was unable to consult it.

[687] C. Lascaris, ed. Martínez Martano (1994) 158-159 ll. 22-27 ('τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκείνων Ἑλλήνων ἀπόγονος').

[688] C. Lascaris, ed. Martínez Martano (1994) 160-161 ll. 24-26: "Ρώμην μὲν τὴν νέαν Βαβυλώνα καὶ τροφὸν πάσης κακίας οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἀξιῶ. Νεάπολιν δὲ τὴν ἀχάριστον φεύγω ἀκούων· πεπείραμαι γάρ'. A Spanish translation of the letter is in Martínez Martano (1998) 167-169.

Byzantine scholars were forced to leave Rome and Naples or the Italian peninsula. So, Theodore Gaza unworthily died in the Calabrian town of Policastro, while Andronicus Callistus and Demetrius Castrenus were forced to leave Italy: the former left for the British isles, where he expired without his friends, the latter returned to his barbarian-dominated fatherland. Even Johannes Argyropulus, once professor of Greek in the Florentine heart of Italian Hellenism, had to sell his books in Rome to anyone who paid him enough to live.[689] In Constantine Lascaris' view, the absence of Greeks and their learning had made places such as Naples and Rome inhabitable. So, for instance, he argued that the Naples of his day was 'not the colony of the Chalcideans and Athenians, the gymnasium of Hellenic letters, to which the Romans began heading. Everything has been lost and is deformed'. Sicily and Calabria, on the other hand, had a distinguished Greek past that set them apart from the rest of Italy. Although both Janus and Constantine Lascaris tried to make different parts of Italy look Greek and therefore special and different, a significant difference lurks behind this superficial similarity apart from the different contexts in which they wrote.

In his letter to the Catanian bishop Johannes Gattus, Constantine claimed that Sicily had produced more wise and ingenious men than all other islands and even the peninsula of the Peloponnesus.[690] A later redaction of this work was printed in Messina in 1499, extended with his biographies of Greek philosophers from Calabria. Constantine opened his overview of Calabrian writers and thinkers with Pythagoras, who had civilised many Calabrians, Greeks and others, and who had also founded the laws of the Greeks living in Italy.[691] In the dedicatory letter of his Calabrian lives, now addressed to Alfonso II of Naples, Duke of Calabria, Constantine Lascaris wrote in the same vein as in his letter to Gattus that

> '… Italy, Sicily and a huge part of Greece are very much indebted first to your nurse Calabria, and then to Pythagoras and his Pythagoraeans. For nine hundred years, from

[689] See C. Lascaris, ed. Martínez Martano (1994) 161 ll. 39-48. Lascaris also composed a funerary epigram for Theodore Gaza, edited by Iriarte (1769) 257, and translated into Spanish by Martínez Manzano (1998) 178. On Callistus in London see Harris (1995b) 140, 142, 146.

[690] C. Lascaris, ed. Martínez Martano (1994) 158 ll. 1-7. A Spanish translation of the Greek letter is in Martínez Martano (1998) 166-167; an Italian translation in De Stefano (1956) 287-288.

[691] C. Lascaris, ed. Migne (1866) col. 924: 'Pythagoras multos Calabros, Graecos et alios ultra quingentos reddidit doctissimos. Leges Graecis qui Italiam habitabant constituit'. Cf. Rathgeber (1866) 485. The idea that Pythagoras civilised the cities of southern Italy by establishing laws and costumes is found in Porphyrius' biography of Pythagoras (Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 20).

> Pythagoras himself until emperor Constantine alias the Great, this very doctrine and the Pythagoraean cult flourished in the areas mentioned'.[692]

Constantine Lascaris thus removed the heartland of Hellenism from Sparta and Athens to Calabria and Sicily. This recalls Bessarion's optimism that Hellenism could survive intact also outside its original heartland, e.g., in Trebizond or Venice (see chapter 3). At the same time, Constantine Lascaris' view differs from Janus Lascaris' argument in the *Florentine Oration*. While the former allowed Calabria and Sicily to play an important role in the evolution and preservation of Hellenism, the latter argued that in Italy Greek became diluted due to the vicinity of the barbarians, and that Roman authors had created a literature that could not equal that of the Greeks.

This implies a deeper difference between their interpretations of the relation between Greek civilisation and its geographical scope. Constantine Lascaris disengaged Hellenism from the traditional Greek heartland. Instead he argued that Sicily had brought forth more wise man than the Peloponnesus, and that Greeks as well as Latins were indebted to Calabria. Janus Lascaris' narrative of colonisation and dissemination, on the other hand, suggests the dispersion of Hellenism from an only vaguely specified geographical centre to a wide periphery in the process of which it got diluted. From his speech to Charles V, cited in chapter 3, we moreover know that Janus Lascaris desired to restore the 'institutions and inventions' of the ancient Greeks to their 'rightful place and domicile'. Such differences between Janus and Constantine Lascaris in this respect point at a notable flexibility regarding the place of the Greek heartland in conceptions of Greekness and Hellenism. The territoriality of Hellenism as well as its future restoration anticipate a problem that will be central to the next chapter, where I will discuss the way in which Johannes Gemistus' for the first time territorialised even in political terms the cultural space of ancient Greece.

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[692] C. Lascaris, ed. Migne (1866) 928: 'Verum illud iterum absque rubore memorabo, Italiam, Siciliam ac magnam Graeciae nostrae partem primum Calabriae tuae altrici, deinde Pythagorae suisque Pythagoricis maxime debere. Nam per annos nongentos, ab ipso scilicet Pythagora usque ad Constantinum imperatorem cognomento Magnum, doctrina ipsa et secta Pythagorica per dictas regiones floruit'. Note that Constantine Lascaris here referred to Constantine the Great as a turning point in Hellenism. This is consistent with his idea (cited in chapter 2, p. 68) that the Latin language began to intrude Greek from the time of Constantine onwards.

As we have seen in the first chapter, Manuel Chrysoloras also stressed the Greco-Latin synergy in his *Comparison between Old and New Rome*. Just like Janus Lascaris in his *Florentine Oration*, he emphasised the Greek element in ancient Rome and the friendly attitude of the Romans towards the Greeks. Unlike Lascaris, however, Chrysoloras saw Rome as the metropolis of Constantinople, and considered himself and his addressees to be the grandsons ('νἱωνοἱ') of Old Rome.[693] In this sense, his outlook was traditionally Byzantine. Janus Lascaris, on the other hand, looked at the Latins, Romans and Florentines from the perspective of ancient Greek rather than Roman history. Glossing over Roman Byzantium, he reframed the relations between Latins and Greek Byzantines through the lens of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch. From this perspective, Byzantium was not the daughter of Rome, but Rome the daughter of Greece, while the Byzantines were not the inheritors of Rome, but the legitimate heirs to ancient Greece. In other words, he applied a similar strategy as Gemistos Plethon had used in his memorandum for Manuel Palaeologus, but now applied it to the Romans of the West. Similarly, Constantine Lascaris looked at Sicily and Calabria from the perspective of Greek history, which ended with the traditional starting point of Byzantine or eastern Roman history, viz. the rise of Constantine the Great. Both the *Oratio* and the *Vitae* read as attempts to highlight the Greek element in Latin culture and so to solve the perceived differences between Latins and Greeks, brushing away the perceived hostile alterity of the Byzantine Greeks. Yet both Constantine and Janus Lascaris do so from a one-sidedly Greek perspective. Both in the *Oratio* and in the *Vitae* the Greeks are bringers of civilisation, while Janus Lascaris also makes the Greeks ethnically prior to the Latins. So, while for both Lascarids the spheres of Greek and Latin culture are closely related via ancient Greece, they also maintain Greek precedence and superiority over the Latins.

[693] Cf., e.g., Chrysoloras, ed. Billò (2000) 8 ll. 19-26, 10 ll. 4-12, 15 ll. 3-19, 16 ll. 3-11.

Chapter 6

The Territorialisation of Hellenism

Byzantine intellectuals tried to galvanise western powers against the Ottoman Turks in order to liberate and regain their fatherland which they called Greece ('Graecia', 'Grecia', 'Hellas'). But even if their attachment to 'Graecia' is pivotal to their sense of Greekness, what this fatherland represented, and where it was located, was, paradoxically, all but clear-cut. Their silence has been explained as a rhetorical strategy. As the eventual partition of Ottoman territories in the East would be a bone of contention, they wisely preferred not to anticipate such a partition in favour of the Greeks.[694] This is, however, only part of an explanation. The Byzantines' vagueness about the contours of the fatherland that must be liberated also resulted from genuine doubt as to the exact territory they wanted to restore. Did they want to return to the Byzantine empire as they, or their parents, had left it? Or did they want to establish a new kind of Greek kingdom? And how could they legitimise their claims on a specific territory when all these lands were in the hands of different powers – and often had been so from the times of the Fourth Crusade onwards?

It is significant in this respect that cartographical representations of Greece appeared only late.[695] The first printed regional map of Greece designed by a Greek was Nicolaus Sophianus' regional map of 'all of Greece' ('tota Graecia'), first published in 1540, and followed only by Rhigas Velestinlis' famous map of Greece of 1797.[696] In the winter of 1516, however, the Anconitan presses of Bernardinus Guerralda issued a curious Latin pamphlet of more than two thousand dactylic hexameters, entitled *Protrepticon et pronosticon*. It had been composed by the unknown Johannes Gemistus of Epidaurus. This poem contains what seems to be the first elaborate politico-territorial representation of 'Graecia'. While George Tolias argued that Sophianus' map of *tota Graecia* inaugurated 'the ideological construct of Hellenism as a unifying space',[697] Johannes Gemistus' poem is an example of the same idea, even if it is expressed in a different medium and with different purposes, and predates Sophianus' map by more

[694] Binner (1980) 232-233.
[695] Tolias (2010) 8-9.
[696] Tolias (2001) 8; Tolias (2010).
[697] Tolias (2001) 17.

than twenty years. In creating his image of his homeland, the poet implicitly addressed questions that would resurface in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Greek nationalists turned to the West for support and had to be specific about what country they wanted to liberate. The problematics of territoriality Gemistus confronted thus anticipates later fiercer and more violent debates over the territorial integrity of the nation state of Hellas.

In his *Protrepticon et pronosticon*, Johannes Gemistus tried to persuade pope Leo X to undertake a crusade against the Ottoman Turks in order to recapture the Holy Land. Central to Gemistus' argument were the usual themes of humanist crusade rhetoric: the necessity of action against the infidel barbarians, the relative ease of winning victories over them, and the benefits that will accrue to the addressee.[698] As part of this, the poet prophesies the outcome of the crusade undertaking in detail in the most favourable terms. A substantial part of this is specifically dedicated to the liberation of 'Graecia'. As the establishment of an independent Greece was generally not a major aim of the powers involved in planning a crusade, Gemistus' poem reads as a bold attempt to position Greece as one of the main goals of the crusading enterprise, and not just Constantinople. In this chapter, I try to demonstrate how Gemistus' image of 'Graecia' works in this context. Especially since Greece did not exist as a well-defined area nor a unitary territory in the early modern period, Gemistus' representation of his fatherland was not an autoptic report or personal recollection of a place called 'Graecia'. On the contrary, Gemistus' fatherland appears as a complex and highly crafted site of memory in which multiple pasts converge, although it is chiefly Greek-oriented.

In order to show how Gemistus constructed his fatherland, I will first reconstruct its textual basis and show how the poet used his source to create his unprecedented image of Greece. Then, I will explore how Gemistus turned this carefully constructed and strategically located country into a future political territory. By claiming that his fatherland must be restored in the near future, Gemistus projected his imaginary country back into the past. 'Graecia' appears to be a complex memory that is specifically designed for the future rather than that it reflects a past reality. The poet's representation of his fatherland as a spatial, geographical entity finally prompts a comparison with other geographical images of 'Graecia' and especially Sophianus' *Descriptio totius Graeciae*. In the final section of this chapter, I will make such a brief comparison so as to demonstrate the extent of Gemistus' innovation in his *Protrepticon*

[698] See Heath (1986) and Hankins (1995) 305-306 (without reference to Heath in this context).

et pronosticon also from the angle of another medium than literature. In the next two sections, however, I will first briefly explain how *Greece before Greece* was generally imagined, and introduce Gemistus' *Protrepticon et pronosticon*, in order to provide the foundation for the rest of this chapter.

Imagining Greece before Greece

Our own familiarity with the idea of a nation state called Hellas has solidified our notion of the country as a nation with its own government occupying a particular territory. Moreover, the very strategy of nationalist ideologies to present the territory of nation states as self-evident and even natural obscures the fact that in early modern Europe, 'Graecia' was not a clear-cut geographical, cultural, let alone territorial entity.[699] Even if the terms 'Hellenes' and 'Graeci' were used to refer to speakers of the Greek language or the Byzantine (Orthodox) Christians, they were not automatically connected to a well-defined territory. As a political entity, in the Roman period, 'Graecia' had referred to the area of the freed city states from the Peloponnesus to Epirus and Thessaly.[700] Within the Byzantine empire, 'Hellas' existed, from the end of the seventh century, as a province or *theme*, whose extent seems to have varied over time, but which existed next to themes such as Thrace, the Peloponnesus, and Macedonia.[701] In the last two centuries of the Byzantine empire's existence, the region of modern Greece together with Constantinople and its Thracian hinterlands consisted of a patchwork of independent and semi-independent seigneuries that did not represent a coherent political unity under the flag of 'Hellas' or 'Graecia'. Within the context of the Byzantine empire 'Hellas' could be used to refer to the despotate of the Morea with the exclusion of, for instance, the principality of Achaea.[702]

In a curious document, dating from 1437, we find an anonymous Latin description of the 'present-day lands of the Greeks'.[703] It gives a unique impression of how a sensitive

[699] Cf. Prontera (1991) 78.

[700] *GAH s.v.* Graecia.

[701] *ODB s.v.* Hellas, *s.v.* Greece.

[702] See, for example, the documents (drawn up by Grand Master Philibert de Naillac and all dated between 1402 and 1404) in Chrysostomides (1995) 501 l. 5 ('in despotatu Grecie et principatu Achaye'), 504 l. 9 ('despotatus Grecie et principatus Achaye'), 517 l. 9 and ll. 27-28 ('despotatus Grecie et principatus Achaye', 'Grecie seu Romanie despotatum et castellaniam Corinthi'), 521 l. 7 ('despotatu Grecie seu Romanie et castellania Corinti').

[703] The document is now preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Lat. 18.298). The text is printed in Lambros (1910) 360-371.

and well-informed western contemporary could look at the Byzantine lands. The author divided the lands of the Greeks into 'dominia secularia' and 'dominia spiritualia', referring, respectively, to the dominions of the emperor and those of the patriarch.[704] While the former are modest (Constantinople, the Peloponnesus, a handful of islands), the latter are more extended and also comprise territories that are ruled by non-Greeks such as the Florentine Duchy of Athens as well as parts of Russia. The author also added the numbers of villages and cities in the regions he mentioned. Even so, this nuanced and differentiated description of the *terre hodierne Grecorum* is exceptional. When humanists thought of 'Graecia', they primarily had ancient Greece in mind. Whenever they imagined something like a modern Greece, they relied on ancient sources.[705] In these, 'Hellas', or 'Graecia', could, most comprehensively, refer to the whole community of Greeks, also in the colonies in Ionia and elsewhere. Generally, however, it referred to northern Greece south of Thermopylae sometimes with the inclusion of the Peloponnesus, or to the entire region from the Peloponnesus to Epirus and Thessaly inclusively.[706]

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[704] George of Trebizond used 'Graecia' to refer both to the 'dominia spiritualia' and to the 'dominia secularia' of emperor Manuel Palaeologus in his speech to pope Nicholas V. See Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984m) 438 (§16) and 439 (§19). Cf. Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984i) 357 (§§26-27) and Trapezuntius, ed. Monfasani (1984n) 452 (§23).

[705] See, on the sources of humanist geographical knowledge in general Bouloux (2002) 143-176. On the humanist contribution to the geographical representation of Greece see now Tolias (2012) 61-131.

[706] Cf. *LSJ s.v.* Ἑλλάς; *NP s.v.* Hellas, Hellenen. See, for the meaning of 'Hellas' as a geographical concept in ancient Greek literature, also Prontera (1991) and Hall (2002) 126-129. It must be noted that in this geographical sense, even the ancient geographers are not univocal about the boundaries of 'Hellas'. So, for instance, in his influential *Graeciae descriptio*, Pausanias treats the Peloponnesus and parts of central Greece south of Thermopylae, but excludes, for instance, the regions of Thrace and the islands. Although Pausanias' exact idea of Hellas remains unclear, it *is* clear that for him 'Hellas' is continental and does not comprise Thrace and Ionia (Bearzot 1988: 93-95). In his *Geography*, Ptolemy restricts the area of 'Hellas' even more. The Hellenistic geographer claims that it borders upon Epirus in the West, Macedonia and part of the Aegean in the North, the Aegean up to Cape Sunion in the East, and the Adriatic Sea, the Gulf of Corinth and the Cretan Sea in the south (Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.15.1). As such, it stands on a par with the ancient regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, the Peloponnesus, and the island of Crete, but does not in some way include them. In his description of the inhabited world Strabo claims that 'Hellas consists of two very large portions of land, the part inside the isthmus, and the part outside it, which extends through Thermopylae as far as the outlet of the Peneius'. While in Strabo's conception Macedonian Piera is part of Hellas, Epirus is excluded as is Thrace (Str. 8.1.3). See

Although an exhaustive study of humanist views on Greece still awaits its author, it seems that humanist visions of contemporaneous 'Graecia' reflect the ancient coexistence of a narrow geographical image of Greece (best captured by Ptolemy) and a broader cultural or linguistic one (best reflected in the ancient historians and the orators). To give only one example, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus (later pope Pius II) equated 'Graecia' with 'Hellas' and 'Attica' in his influential *De Europa* which described Europe under emperor Frederick III, reigning in the period between 1452 and 1493. In his words, the region extends 'from Boeotia towards the Isthmus of Corinth with the part of Attica that is called Megaris'.[707] In this view, indebted to Pliny the Elder,[708] 'Graecia' is part of the Greek-speaking world, but does not encompass it. All the same, in a speech delivered after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Piccolomineus addressed 'Graecia' in a rhetorical *apostrophe* and lamented the destruction of ancient cities such as Thebes, Athens, Mycenae, Larissa, Sparta and Corinth. 'If you seek their walls', he continued,

> '...you won't even find ruins. Nobody would be able to point out the land where they stood. Often our men look for Greece in Greece herself; from the ruins of so many towns only Constantinople survives, founded by Constantine, the first emperor of that name, to parallel the city of Rome (…). But now that the Turks conquer and possess what Greek power once held, I fear that Greek letters are at an end'.[709]

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also the map in Prontero (1991) 89 and 90-91 on the exclusion of Epirus in Strabo's geographical account.

[707] Piccolomineus, ed. Van Heck (2001) 87-88 ll. 2351-2369: '[Post Beotiam] sequitur HELLAS, que a nostris appellata est Grecia; Acten (id est littus) prisci uocauere; mutato deinde nomine Acticam dixere. (...) Protenditur autem Actica ex Beotia usque Isthmum corynthiacum parte sui, que appellatur Megaris'. In his ensuing description of the Peloponnesus, Piccolomineus called it the 'bulwark of Greece', which may suggest that he saw the peninsula as an integral part of Greece. But even so construed, 'Graecia' is not a much encompassing geographical notion.

[708] Plin. *NH* 4.23. It must be noted that Pliny's idea of Hellas or 'Graecia' is equivocal on which see Detlefsen (1909) 51.

[709] Piccolomineus, ed. Hopperus (1571) 681: 'O nobilis Graecia, ecce nunc tuum finem, nunc demum mortua es. Heu quot olim urbes fama rebusque potentes sunt extinctae? Vbi nunc Thebae, ubi Athenae, ubi Mycenae, ubi Larissa, ubi Lacedaemon, ubi Corinthiorum ciuitas, ubi alia memoranda oppida, quorum si muros quaeras, nec ruinas inuenias? Nemo solum in quo iacuerunt, queat ostendere: Graeciam saepe nostri in ipsa Graecia requirunt, sola ex tot cadaueribus ciuitatum Constantinopolis superat (...) per Constantinum primum Imperatorem eius nominis in aemulationem Romanae urbis erecta… (...) At nunc uincentibus Turcis et omnia possidentibus quae Graeca potentia tenuit, uereor ne de literis Graecis omnino sit actum'.

In this context, 'Graecia' referred to more than the geographical region of 'Hellas' and 'Graecia' alone. It is not merely a district of the Greek-speaking world, as it had been in *De Europa*, but an umbrella-term that covers both sites in ancient Greece and the Christian metropolis Constantinople. Such a view on 'Graecia' as a cultural unity evokes a more complex and comprehensive Greek geography, comprising ancient sites like Athens, Thebes (Boeotia) and Larissa (Thessaly), but also the Byzantine capital Constantinople with parts of Thrace.[710] As we shall see in the sections below, Johannes Gemistus fused the more inclusive cultural notion of 'Graecia' with a geographically coherent space, and transformed it into a political territory that must be restored. In so doing, he created an image of his homeland that was very different from the remainders of the eastern Roman empire he himself (or his parents) probably left in the 1460s. Nor does his representation of 'Graecia' correspond to the *dominia spiritualia* or *secularia* so carefully distinguished and described in the Munich codex. All the same, Gemistus presented his image of Greece as a memory of a past reality that must be restored in the future.

The Protrepticon et pronosticon *by Johannes Gemistus (1516)*

The author of the *Protrepticon et Pronosticon* probably fled from Epidaurus to Italy in the 1460s.[711] There, he became a member of the humanist circles surrounding Sylvius

[710] Another fairly equivocal view on Greece can be found in a manuscript of Angelus Colotius now in the Vatican Library, containing a modern geographical treatise (or so identified by Nolhac 1887: 252 n. 3). BAV, Vat. lat. 3353, fols. 277^{r}-277^{v}: 'Europa prouincias habet iuxta Ptolemej descriptiones: Ispanias duas, citeriorem atque ulteriorem, Gallias item, hoc est Celticam, Gallicam et Belgium, Brittanias item duasm quarum altera hodie Anglia, altera Scotia dicitur, Ibernias, Germanias item duas, superiorem et inferiorem, Sarmatiam item partem quique uno nomine Bastarnae dicuntur, Rhetiam, Vindelciam [= Vincelicia], Noricum, Illyrium, Pannonias duas, item et Misias superiorem atque inferiorem, Jaziges, Daciam, Tauricam, Italiam, Coriscam, Sardiniam, Siciliam, Macedoniam, Epirum, Achaias, Peloponnesum, quaeque uno nomine Graecia est, Thraciam ac Cretam. Haec quidem gentes Europam implent iuxta Ptolemej enumerationes'. In the same manuscript (in a treatise called *De quadrante*) I found on fol. 292^{r} this description: 'Ad haec Ispania uniuersa, Italia, Illyrium, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Thracia, Peloponnesuss, quaeque regiones uno hodie nomine Graecia dicitur [*sic*], maris quoque Mediterrani insulae Baleares duae, Sardinia, Corsicam, Sicilia, Corcyra, Cyclades, Lesbos, Creta'. Cf. fol. 293^{r} of the same treatise: 'At Illyrium, Macedonia, Thracia, Achaia qaeque uno nomine est Graecia, Creta: Cyclades insulae …'

[711] In early modern Latin 'Epidaurus' may refer to Epidavros, Monemvasia (near the ancient site of Epidaurus Limera), or Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik). In connection with his birth place, Gemistus refers to 'Epidaurus' as the 'tamer of horses' (Gemistus 1516: fol. Eii^{v} l. 11: 'mea gentilis

Piccolomineus (not to be confused with the future pope) in Montemarciano, and was working as a secretary in the maritime republic of Ancona by the time he published his address to pope Leo X.[712] His impressive poem, consisting of more than two thousand Latin verses in dactylic hexameters, is divided into seven chapters covering different aspects of the crusading project as the poet conceived of it.[713]

A distinctive feature of Gemistus' poem are its catalogues.[714] In line with ancient examples of epic writing from Homer onwards, Gemistus worked extended lists into the narrative of his poem. So, in the second chapter, he summed up more than ninety protagonists of Greek history; in the third, he spent over three hundred verses enumerating the pope's auxiliaries; in the next, he listed more than two hundred cities, regions and peoples of Greece, welcoming the pope as their liberator, while in the fifth and sixth chapters he cited the names of all the places and peoples from Asia and Africa that the pope and his allies would subject and Christianise. Although to the modern

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domitrix Epidaurus equorum'), alluding to a turn of phrase from Vergil's *Georgica* (Verg. *Georg.* 3.42: 'domitrixque Epidaurus equorum'). This refers to the horse races at the Panhellenic Games organised in honour of Asclepius in ancient Epidaurus. Gemistus further calls Asclepius' sons Podalirius and Machaon his 'kinsmen' from Epidaurus (fol. Ci^{v} ll. 29-30). See also p. 77 above.

[712] In BA, Ms. 1077 survives a brief poem of Gemistus to Piccolomineus (fol. 162^{r}). General literature regarding Johannes Gemistus is virtually non-existent and mostly confined to entries in (out-dated) biographical lexica or cursory remarks. See, for instance, Merry (2004) 442; Barbier (1829); Marron (1816); Sathas (1862) 228. Gemistus' poem is briefly discussed in Manoussakas (1965) 20-23 and Rotolo (1966) 34-38; cited in Longnon (1921) 521-522. It is discussed in Binner (1980) 207-216 and, in the context of humanist crusade literature, in Lamers (2012b) (with extensive bibliography).

[713] It has been claimed that Johannes Gemistus was the grandson of Plethon, but there is no evidence to substantiate the claim apart from the poet's suggestive name. See Masai (1956) 53; Legrand (1903) 225-226; Sathas (1863) 228, *contra* Marron (1816). It must be noted, though, that Plethon held two estates in the neighbourhood of Epidavros, as Masai (1956) 53 points out. It is unclear from Masai's words whether reference is to either Epidaurus (equivalent to modern Epidavros) or 'Epidaurus Limera' (equivalent to Monemvasia in Laconia). Manoussakas (1965) 20 suggests that he refers to the latter. Plethon had two sons holding official positions in the Peloponnesus between 1433 and 1455, but we do not know whether or not they had children. See *PLP* nrs. 3629 and 3632.

[714] The edition of Konstantinos Sathas (Gemistus, ed. Sathtas 1880) is erratic. Therefore, I cite from Gemistus (1516) on which see Legrand (1885a) 213-215. Apart from the old print, the poem survives in a precious parchment manuscript, probably the presentation exemplar (BML, Plut. 34.57). I collated the manuscript and the print and will note significant variants in the footnotes. For details on the manuscript see Bandini (1775) 200; Marzi (1896) 37; Maracchi Bagiarelli (1971) 21 (nr. 12). Bandini (1775) 200 conjectured that the manuscript is an autograph, but there is no conclusive evidence to substantiate his claim.

reader such extensive lists of names may at first glance seem tedious, Gemistus' catalogues in the second and fourth chapters are precisely those places where the poet created and invented an unprecedented image of 'Graecia'. Gemistus' list of Greek heroes helps us to understand how the poet connected the geography of 'Graecia' with the ancient past, and how he could present a new and imaginary country in the guise of a past reality. Moreover, his list of Greek place names and ethnonyms in the fourth chapter, is pivotal to our understanding of the poet's imaginary geography of 'Graecia' and how he constructed it. In other words, these lists are in a sense the most captivating and telling parts of the poem.[715]

'Graecia' is prominent in the crusading project as Gemistus foretold it. Before Gemistus predicted how pope Leo X would successfully subject and Christianise Asia and Africa, he extensively recounts that Greece gives the pope a warm welcome worthy of a liberator. The poet predicted that 'pious Greece [would] kneel and send, not without gratitude, her leading men and gifts', adding to this that the country would also follow the pope's admonitions and orders willingly.[716] However, the liberation of Greece or the Greeks was generally not seen as a goal of the crusading project by those who were somehow involved in it, either as crusade-propagandists, or as actual organisers. So, for example, in the crusade appeals of Janus Damianus and Hieronymus Bordonius, also addressed to pope Leo X, the pope's primary task is not so much to liberate Greece as to protect the Italian peninsula against a barbarian invasion and foreign occupation. If the Greeks are mentioned, they are either mentioned as allies of the pope, or as one of the oriental peoples. In the poem of Bordonius, for example, the Peloponnesians are mentioned in the same breath with the Asians and Assyria, and the Thessalians are mentioned in connection with the Phoenicians and Egypt.[717] Apart from this, there was an explicitly anti-Greek lobby at the papal court of Leo X. Not too long after Leo's election in March 1513, the monks Paulus Justinianus and Petrus Quirinus addressed a

[715] Such catalogues are also important because they provided humanists with the opportunity to exhibit their knowledge in fields as diverse as mythology and geography. In crusade literature in particular, humanists presented themselves as experts in geography, military arts and/or history, sometimes in the hope to attain a position in an eventual crusading enterprise. In this context, Gemistus' extended geographical catalogues can be seen as part of his attempt to present himself to Leo X as an expert in the geography of the world. On the issue of expertise in crusade rhetoric see Meserve (2010).

[716] Gemistus (1516) fols. Eii^{r} l. 16 – Eii^{v} l. 2.

[717] On the poems of Damianus and Bordonius in connection with Gemistus' poem see Lamers (2012b).

treatise about papal power to him concerning, among other topics, the crusade against the Turks. In it, the Greeks were explicitly treated as an impediment to the crusading project, while being scorned for their stubborn impiety and perversity.[718] As 'Graecia' is so extraordinarily present in Gemistus' poem, it can be seen as a bold innovation in crusade literature.

Gemistus' imaginary geography of Greece

After addressing the pope in the first chapter of his poem, Gemistus evoked the cruelties inflicted upon the Christians of Europe by the Ottoman Turks. He especially focused on the hardships of the inhabitants of the country he introduced as 'Graecia':

> 'Aspice quot gemitus luctusque miserrima tellus,
> Graecia, nunc patitur magnos lachrymasque perennes
> Cum uideat sine iure praemi sua pignora, natos
> Qui ueluti pecudes per compita perque plateas
> Venduntur miseri, proh Iupiter, atque trahuntur'.[719]
>
> *Behold how many sorrows and huge grief the most miserable land of Greece suffers as well as the endless tears she sheds as she sees that her children are oppressed unjustly, and observes her offspring being sold like cattle and, by Jupiter, carried off over crossroads and streets.*

Gemistus lamented that the Ottoman Turks violated Greek women and girls and forced young boys to prostitute themselves. Young Greeks must do all kinds of dishonourable work such as digging sewers, while others were tortured to death and torn to pieces by raving lions.[720] In these lines, Greece is not an abstract 'province of Western thought', but a country with inhabitants suffering cruelties and in need of support.

The poet also sketched the geographical contours of 'Graecia' in an elaborate list of over two hundred Greek place names and ethnonyms (for an extensive overview see Appendix 2.2 on pp. 266-275). In the fourth chapter of his poem, the poet summed up the parts of 'Graecia' that will welcome pope Leo X as their liberator. The first region sending its orators and noblemen with gifts to the pope is 'Byzantia tellus', referring to Constantinople with its Thracian hinterlands:

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[718] The treatise, known as *Libellus ad Leonem Decimum* or *De officio pontificis*, is discussed in Setton (1984) 146-147 (with the relevant bibliographic references in note 17).
[719] Gemistus (1516) fol. Aiii^{v}.
[720] Gemistus (1516) fols. Aiii^{v}-Bi^{v}.

'Et struet insignem Ephireo in colle tropheum,
Turcigenum pugnam testantia saxa fugamque
Excidiumque ingens populi gentisque profanae,
Barbaricae, nomenque dei dominique Leonis
Pontificis summi decimi super omnia scribet
Litterulis Latiis, maioribus atque Pelasgis,
Imperii sui et regni diadema uetusti,
Totius et generis Graecorum traddet habenas'.[721]

And Byzantium will erect a memorial on the Corinthian Hill, a monument in stone that testifies to the battle and the defeat of the Turks and the great overthrow of a people and a race both profane and barbarian, and on top of all this it will write the name of God and that of Lord Leo the Tenth Pontiff in small Latin letters and in larger Pelasgian ones, and it shall hand over the diadem of its empire and its ancient power, and the reins over the entire race of the Greeks.

From Byzantium, the focus shifts to place names and ethnonyms associated with the Peloponnesus and the area that is now known as Central Greece (see nos. 2-57 in Appendix 2.2 below).[722] As the catalogue of peoples, cities and regions proceeds, the poet increasingly shifts the reader's attention away from the Peloponnesus to modern Central Greece, especially to Attica with Athens and the contingent regions of Phocis, Boeotia and, at the end of this section of the list, also Thermopylae and Mount Oeta (nos. 58-94).[723] After this, Gemistus summed up the islands in the Ionian and Aegean Seas that he saw as part of 'Graecia' (nos. 95-161). These include the islands belonging to modern Greece, Cyprus, and islands that are now part of Turkey. It is only after summing up the Greek islands that the areas north of modern Central Greece are mentioned: Thessaly (nos. 163-186) and Macedonia (nos. 187-210).[724] Gemistus' imaginary 'Graecia' thus roughly covers the regions from Constantinople in the East to the Ionian Islands in the West, and from Crete in the South to the Pindus and Balkan Mountains in the North (see figure 1 on the next page).

Not all of the more than two hundred place names and ethnonyms Gemistus heaped up can be identified with certainty. Still, the map on the next page immediately shows that the geographical scope of Gemistus' 'Graecia' is notably constricted in different

[721] Gemistus (1516) fol. Eiii^{r}. Note that in the Florentine manuscript of Gemistus' poem (fol. 33^{r}) it is Greece who sets up the monument due to the transposition of lines 97-101 after line 110.
[722] Exceptions are nos. 4, 9, 13, 22, 25 (?), 38 (?) and 47 in the list in Appendix 2.2 on pp. 245-253 below.
[723] Exceptions are nos. 62, 79, 84 (?), and 87.
[724] Exceptions are nos. 181 and 182.

respects. Regions in the East that could have been claimed for 'Graecia' on the basis of, for example, the sphere of influence of classical Athens in the Mediterranean, Alexander's Hellenistic empire, or the Byzantine empire in its best period (see figure 3 on p. 215) were consistently excluded from Gemistus' Greek world.[725] Most notably, the poet excluded the Anatolian coast and Trebizond, traditionally associated with Greek civilisation and certainly part of the aspirations of the Byzantine Empire as Bessarion recalled in his memorandum to Constantine Palaeologus (see chapter 3, pp. 106-107).

Figure 1. Rough indication of Gemistus' Graecia (excluding Cyprus)

Although Gemistus did include Cyprus and all the major and smaller islands off the coast of Anatolia, Anatolia itself is not part of his imaginary geography. Also, Gemistus excluded Magna Graecia in the West. Areas of Sicily and the Italian peninsula that had been under the influence of Greek civilisation from the ancient colonisers of the eighth century on – as highlighted in Constantine Lascaris' *Vitae philosophorum* – are left outside Gemistus' imaginary geography of 'Graecia'. Before explaining Gemistus'

[725] The Hellenistic succession states of Lysimachus and Antiochus are only mentioned cursorily in the fifth chapter (see fol. Giii^{r} l. 29 and fol. Giv^{v} l. 1). For some examples of the use of Alexander the Great in claims to imperial power in the East in the fourteenth century see Matzukis (2006) esp. 116-117.

selectivity in this respect, I will first investigate the principal sources of his 'Graecia' as well as the way the poet used them to create his image of Greece.

Greece through a Latin lens

If we analyse the textual tissue of Gemistus' 'Graecia' in closer detail, we find that his homeland is a bricolage of ancient Latin sources. It is not the country the poet or his parents left, but a construct of his imagination. But even though his representation of 'Graecia' is not a recollection of historical realities, it does not correspond to a territory described by the ancient sources neither.[726] It is a novel construction from diverse Latin sources that the poet presented as an ancient *status quo* that must now be restored. Although Gemistus employed the rhetoric of restoration (the diadem shall be *returned*: 'restituet', and ancient power is *given back*: 'reddidit'), his imaginary 'Graecia' is unprecedented. The poet created memories for the future, sketching the contours of an allegedly lost country that foreshadows a desired future reality. Therefore, we may wonder how exactly Gemistus *made* his fatherland, and why he made certain choices in his representation of 'Graecia'. As appears from the list of place names and ethnonyms mentioned by Gemistus in his catalogue, he frequently rephrased epithets from Statius' *Thebaid*, especially in his catalogue of Peloponnesian place names. Gemistus' qualification of the fields bordering upon the banks of the Eurotas River as 'olive-bearing' ('oliviferi'), for instance, is particularly Statian.[727] Statius' presence also appears from some alternative spellings of place names apparently specific to the Statius-tradition. So, for instance, Gemistus mentioned 'pecorosa Philos' (4.138), derived from Statius *Theb.* 4.45 (where modern editions read 'Phlius').[728]

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[726] This makes his representation of 'Graecia' different from the famous *imagines Germaniae* by Celtis and Bebelius, who based their images of 'Germania' on Tacitus' treatise *De Germania* in their critical responses to the images created by Italian humanists like Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus. The *imagines Germaniae* of Celtis and Bebelius are studied in the context of the struggle between German and Italian humanists over the control of representing 'Germania' most recently, and most extensively, in Krebs (2005).

[727] See Stat. *Theb.* 4.227. Modern editions of Statius (including the modern Loeb-edition of Shackleton Bailey) generally offer 'swanny' ('oloriferi') as qualification of the Eurotas ('oloriferi Eurotae'). See the apparatus criticus in the Teubner-edition of Klotz & Klinnert (2001) *ad loc.* See also appendix 2.

[728] See the editions by Klotz & Klinnert (2001) and Hill (1983). There are some more examples of this kind. So, for instance, Gemistus wrote 'Arthemenos' ('Archemenos' in the Florentine manuscript), where modern editions read 'Orchomenos' (Stat. *Theb.* 4.295). 'Archomenos' is only recorded in critical editions of Statius (see the critical apparatuses of Klotz & Klinnert and

Even though Statius' presence in Gemistus' poem is clearly detectable, his main source must have been Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*. This appears from a small handful of variant readings of place names used by Gemistus that are – judging from the modern critical apparatuses and several old prints – typical to the Plinian tradition. This does not involve common variant spellings such as 'Cremion' for 'Cremmyon' or 'Zacinchus' for 'Zacynthus', but really alternative readings of the type 'Arnoxe' instead of 'Oxiae' and 'Boggillia' for 'Aegilia'. In his catalogue of Macedonian place names, for example, Gemistus mentioned a town called 'Oloros'. While 'Oloros' is only attested in certain Pliny-manuscripts and early editions, 'Aloros' is the form found in Pomponius Mela and also, for instance, in the important encyclopedia of Volaterranus that had been published in 1506 and again in 1511.[729] Moreover, Gemistus' 'Physella' ('Myscella' in Mayhoff's critical edition of Pliny) is a variant reading introduced only in the printed edition of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* of 1496, probably on the basis of Hermolaus Barbarus' *Castigationes Plinianae*, which nonetheless mentioned the older reading 'Physcella', found in some manuscripts, as an alternative.[730] There are a few more examples of this kind, and, taken together, they conclusively suggest that Gemistus used either some Pliny-manuscript, or (what is most likely) Jacobus Britannicus' recension of Pliny (Venice: Bartolomeo Zani, 1496) or a later one as the principal source for his list.[731]

Emblematic for the constructedness of Gemistus' image of Greece is his mentioning of the island 'Anaxo, very famous for the tomb of honourable Homer'. It also conclusively links his list to Pliny's encyclopedia. There is no island with the name 'Anaxo' purported to be Homer's last resting place. There is, in fact, no island called 'Anaxo' at all. Both the name of the unknown island and its connection with Homer's tomb can be explained from a passage in Pliny's encyclopedia, where he refers to 'Ios, eighteen miles from Naxos, venerable as the burial place of Homer', which runs in Latin: 'Ios a Naxo xviii, Homeri sepulchro veneranda…' (Plin. *NH* 4.69). The reading 'Anaxo' resulted from a misinterpretation of this specific passage from Pliny. Apparently,

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Hill), while it seems that 'Orchomenos' appears as early as the 1502 edition of Statius' text by Aldus Manutius. In the critical editions of Pliny (*NH* 4.36) and Mela (2.43), 'Archemenos' is not attested as a variant of 'Orchomenos'.

[729] See Plin. *NH* 4.34 with app. crit. (ed. Mayhoff). Cf. Mela 2.35 and Maphaeus (1511) fol. lxxxv^{v}.

[730] Barbarus, ed. Pozzi (1973) 241.

[731] This is also suggested, for instance, by Gemistus' spelling of the city where the Macedonian kings were buried. All the printed editions of Pliny's texts before 1496 read 'Egle', while the 1496 edition of Bartolomeo de Zanis reads 'Aegae'. This reading was also proposed by Barbarus (see Barbarus, ed. Pozzi 1973: 234).

Gemistus read an enumeration ('Ios, Anaxo, …'), where there is an appositional phrase ('Ios, a Naxo…').[732] It is surely ironic that Gemistus fashioned his fatherland on the authority of a Roman author like Pliny, while it did not occur to him that the famous burial place of Homer, 'Anaxo', is inexistent. Such examples show that Gemistus' image of 'Graecia' is not so much based on the poet's impressive knowledge of Greek geography, as has been suggested,[733] but on his highly selective reading of Statius' *Thebaid* and Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*.[734] In this way, Gemistus' representation of 'Graecia' also offers a particularly nice example of how encyclopedic knowledge from the ancient authors could be instrumentalised in order to carve out a place for the country on the European politico-territorial and ethno-cultural map.

Gemistus' re-historicisation of Greece

Although Gemistus' 'Graecia' is distilled from the poet's reading of Roman authors, this is not to say that he blindly copied his Latin sources. One major difference with Pliny in particular resides in the way Gemistus associated the places he mentioned with the ancient past. While Pliny is generally known for his preference for 'de-historicised fact',[735] Gemistus as it were re-historicised the places and peoples he extracted from Pliny. This is not to say that the poet restored the places to their *proper* historical contexts. He rather associated them with *another* imagined past that could give substance to the country he claimed as his fatherland. For example, he replaced the Roman-imperial *formulae* which Pliny had used to denote the mutual hierarchy of places

[732] A misreading like 'Anaxo' is not recorded in the apparatus criticus of Mayhoff's Teubner-edition of Pliny's text. A comparable misreading is, however, recorded for 'a Pylo' in Plin. *NH* 4.14. In his apparatus criticus, Mayhoff records variant readings such as 'aplio', 'aphilo', and 'apilo', all due to the same sort of misreading. Note that in his *Castigationes Plinianae* (1492), Barbarus proposed to replace 'Scyros a Naxo' by 'Ios a Naxo' on the authority of Plut. *Sest.* 1.3 and Strabo 10.4.1 (see Barbarus, ed. Pozzi 1973: 275).

[733] Binner (1980) 207-216.

[734] Misreadings such as Gemistus' are common in the scribal tradition (Reynolds & Wilson 1991: 223) and could be rather persistent. Until the seventeenth century, for example, the Roman author Aulus Gellius was generally known as 'Agellius' on the authority of, among others, Justus Lipsius due to a similar misreading (see Lipsius 1577: 199-200). It was only at the beginning of the seventeenth century that Casparus Barthius emended the name, arguing that scribes had united the initial 'A' with the name 'Gellius', so producing the nonsense name 'Agellius' (see Barthius 1624: 1597-1599). A striking, very similar example from geography is the present-day Scottish island 'Iona' that is so called due to a misreading of minuscular *u* as *n*, common in the Middle Ages. See Fraser (2009) 71.

[735] Doody (2010) 67-68.

(e.g. *oppida*, *civitas*, and *gens libera*) by attributes and epithets that referred them back to the ancient Greek past.[736] Very much unlike Pliny's lists of names without histories, free to form new links within the eternal present of imperial geography,[737] Gemistus' list of names is on the contrary designed to narrow down and solidify a particular image of Greece even in the imperial context of the *imperium Christianum* (on which see pp. 221-226 below). As we shall see, his rhetorical *re*-historicisation of Pliny's *de*-historicised place names is also behind his rearrangements of the places he derived from his Roman source.

In his topographical catalogue regarding Greece, Gemistus connected the place names and ethnonyms he mentioned closely with events from the ancient Greek past. So, for instance, he referred to Phthia as the 'native town of proud Achilles' and remembered Aulis as the place where the Greek navy had rallied before sailing off to Troy.[738] In this way, the poet made the connection between the Greek areas that were under Ottoman domination and their glorious past as explicit as possible and created a modern Greek landscape that is at the same time thoroughly historical. This strategy also underlies the catalogue of over ninety protagonists of Greek history in the second book of his poem (see Appendix 2.1 on pp. 260-266). Affirming that Greece had stopped *producing* such heroes, Gemistus linked all of them collectively to 'Graecia'. He even used the verb *generare* in this context, as if 'Graecia' really is the mother of these men.[739]

Gemistus' Greek heroes fall into three categories: heroes associated with the Argonauts and the Calydonian hunt, with the Homeric epics, and with ancient Greek politics.[740] Not presented in chronological order, most names can be connected with some battle for freedom or personal sacrifice for the fatherland. Apart from the names of Greek heroes who fought in Troy, connected with the earliest stages of Greek history and, significantly, Greek resistance against an oriental power, Gemistus also mentioned, for example, Codrus (the mythical king of Athens who voluntarily sacrificed his life in order to save the city), Miltiades (who defeated the Persians at Marathon), and Timoleon (who purged Sicily of tyranny and replaced the tyrant's fortress by a court of

[736] On the role of the *formulae provinciarum* in Pliny still see Detlefsen (1908).
[737] Doody (2012) 72.
[738] Gemistus (1516) fol. Eiv^{v} ll. 5-6; fol. Eiii^{r} ll. 18-19.
[739] See Gemistus (1516) fol. Cii^{r} l. 30 ('non nunc ... generas', addressing 'Graecia') and fol. Cii^{v} l. 23 ('non nunc generantur').
[740] The first two categories partially overlap as some heroes are connected both with the story of the Argonauts and with the story of Troy. This is the case, for example, with Thoas (cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.230; 23.745; Apollod. 1.114 f. and 3.65; Apoll. Rhod. 1.620 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 15.120).

justice).[741] He did not hesitate to include examples of Greeks who fought and defeated fellow Greeks, such as Phocion who commanded the Athenian left wing in the naval victory over Sparta. Importantly, all these protagonists of an encompassing Greek history are presented as if they are part of a historical continuum attached to a specific territory called 'Graecia' and its modern inhabitants. So, for instance, Gemistus referred to Asclepius' sons Podalirius and Machaon as his 'kinsmen' from Epidaurus,[742] suggesting a direct triangular relationship between himself, his mythical ancestors, and their shared territory.

The lacunas in Gemistus' learned catalogue of heroes are as revealing as are its highlights and it is obvious that the poet foregrounded ancient Greece at the expense of the Roman and Byzantine history of 'Graecia'. The catalogue ends chronologically in the second century BC with Philopoemen. This is hardly a coincidence as he was praised as 'the last of the Hellenes' and the last champion of liberty in Pausanias and Plutarch.[743] No Roman or Byzantine heroes are mentioned. Roman heroes like Scipio Africanus and Aemilius Paullus with whom the Byzantine elite had identified in the past are absent from Gemistus' catalogue.[744] Also distinctively Byzantine heroes are omitted. Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, for example, who in 1264 won back the empire for the Greeks after Latin rule, goes unmentioned. In the context of Solon and Lycurgus, the ancient lawgivers, there is no reference to Plethon. This is also true for earlier Byzantine legislative heroes such as Justinian I, whose laws were planned to be at the basis of the semi-independent Greek community in the Maremma area near Siena in the 1470s (see chapter 3, pp. 114-116). Against this background, it is notable that Gemistus did include an elaborate *ekphrasis* of the splendid architecture of the Hagia Sophia in the first chapter of his poem.[745] For Gemistus, the building stood as a 'memorable temple … that *Greece* had once erected' (emphasis mine).[746] The poet thus transformed the church into

[741] On Codrus see Pherecyd., *FGrH* 3 F. 154; Hellanic., *FGrH* 4 F. 125; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 84-86; Pl. *Symp.* 208d. On Miltiades see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3.1; Hdt. 6.39-40; 6.136-140; Nep. *Milt.* On Timoleon see Plut. *Tim.*; Nep. *Tim.*; Diod. Sic. 15.66-68; 16.65.2-9. Note also in this context that in Maphaeus' *Commentarii urbani* Codrus is seen as a barbarian king who ruled over the Greeks. See Maphaeus (1511) fol. xciir^{v}: 'Praeterea sunt argumento nomina ipsa barbara ut Cecrops, Codrus, Cothys, Drymas qui graecis imperauere'.

[742] Gemistus (1516) fol. Ci^{v} ll. 29-30.

[743] Paus. 8.52.6; Plut. *Phil.* 1.7 (but compare *Arat.* 24.2).

[744] Kaldellis (2007) 89.

[745] Gemistus (1516) fols. Bii^{r}-Biii^{v}.

[746] Gemistus (1516) fols. Bii^{r} ll. 19-20 ('magnum et memorabile templum … quod Graecia quondam … condidit'), Biiiv ll. 3-13 ('Hoc tam sydereum templum et penetrale Sophiae |

a national monument that expressed the historic piety and devotion of the Greeks rather than the power of the Roman emperor who erected it. The poet equally glossed over the fact that as a patriarchal basilica the Hagia Sophia had been the centre of the Byzantine Church. In that church cardinal Humbert excommunicated patriarch Michael I, marking the beginning of the Schism in 1054. In this way, Gemistus transformed his 'Graecia' into a complex site of memory in which he fused the pagan past of Greece with the Christian past of Byzantium as if these formed one natural and continuous whole. While he thus denied the entanglement of the Roman and Christian pasts of Byzantium, Gemistus did claim a share in the Roman imperial past for his fatherland when he transformed 'Graecia' into a political territory.

As to the order in which Gemistus presented the Greek places and peoples in his list, it also differs from the order we find in Pliny, and additionally illustrates how the poet amalgamated present and past. Of course, the order of the *individual* place names and ethnonyms had to be adjusted to the metre of the poem. But there is no *a priori* reason why the poet would transpose clusters of place names belonging to the same region. Pliny the Elder had followed the Greek *periplus* literature as a structural framework for his geographical descriptions and created something of a travelogue describing the coastline of a particular area, its major bays and notable places together with the distances between them.[747] The places Gemistus mentioned in his catalogue are largely, if not exclusively, derived from Pliny's account of the third gulf of Europe, beginning at the Mountains of Khimarra and ending at the Dardanelles.[748] Pliny's account starts off with Epirus and finally rounds off with an epilogue on the islands off the coast of Greece. In his account, 'Graecia' is only a small if not so neatly defined part of the region under discussion and not an encompassing entity. Gemistus, on the other hand, start off his enumeration of places and peoples under the heading of 'Graecia' with Byzantium,

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Immanes Turce latebras Machmetis iniqui | Nunc faciunt, retinent suam sine nomine moscheam. | Atque ubi Christicole precibusque et thure solebant | Carminibusque piis dominum placare triformem, | Obsequium nunc Turca ferox cultumque profanum | Machmeti prestat misero dominumque fatetur').

[747] Doody (2010) 65-66. For an more extensive discussion of Pliny's description of the Greek lands see Detlefsen (1909) 48-62 and *id.* (1908) 80-86 (with special attention to Pliny's use of the *formulae provinciarum*).

[748] Plin. *NH* 4.1-74, roughly followed by Solinus 7.1-11.34. Mela, on the other hand, starts with Thrace and Macedonia and concludes with Epirus, while including the islands of the Mediterranean in an appendix to the second book of his *Chorografia*, inserted after his account of the Iberian peninsula (Mela *Chor.* 2.2-3 and 2.7 for the islands).

followed by the Peloponnesus, Attica with Athens and the contingent regions of Phocis and Boeotia, the islands in the Ionian and Aegean Seas, Thessaly, Macedonia, and rounds off with Epirus. That his reorganisation is in some way significant appears from the fact that elsewhere, Gemistus did follow Pliny's example closely. So, for instance, in his catalogue of Indian place names in the sixth chapter of the poem, he adopted the order in Pliny's account.[749]

There seems to be a clear hierarchy in Gemistus' arrangement of the regions he mentioned in his list that reflects contemporary evaluations of the geographical centres of Hellenism.[750] As Constantinople remained the political and cultural capital of Byzantium, it is easy to see why Gemistus' list starts off with that city. Both political and cultural significance is also important to understand the prominent role of the Peloponnesus in Gemistus' catalogue. Together with Constantinople the despotate of the Morea had been the main political and cultural backbone of the Byzantine empire in the decades immediately before its final dissolution (see figure 2 on the next page with figure 3 for comparison). Ruled by close relatives of the emperor, the Morea was a centre of cultural development in the last centuries of the empire's existence, and outlived the capital by at least seven years.[751]

European humanists generally admired the Peloponnesus with Sparta as the most noble part of Greece. Cyriac of Ancona, for example, particularly praised 'the noble-spirited, renowned race of Spartans' even in their present state of decline and subjugation.[752] In his appeal to Frederick III, Michael Apostoles also called the Peloponnesus the most delightful part of the world ('ὀφθαλμὸν οἰκουμένης').[753] As we have seen in the first chapter, Gemistos Plethon, one of Cyriac's prominent hosts during his travels,[754] had also stressed the importance of the Peloponnesus for Byzantium.

[749] Compare the enumeration in Gemistus (1516) fols. Hi^{v} l. 18 – Hiii^{r} l. 8 with Plin. *NH* 6.67-6.79.
[750] Note also that Gemistus' catalogue of place names and ethnonyms follows the form of a welcoming procession for pope Leo X, which customarily suggest hierarchy and precedence.
[751] Runciman (2009).
[752] Cyriac, ed. Bodnar (2003) esp. 329-335.
[753] Apostoles, ed. Laourdas (1953) 521 l. 87.
[754] Cyriac, ed. Bodnar (2003) 329.

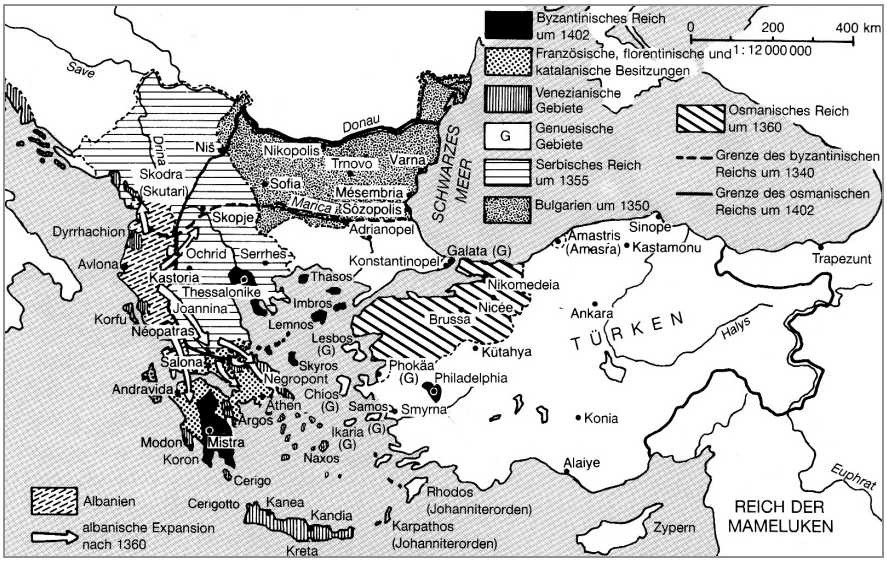

Figure 2. The utterly black regions represent the Byzantine empire in around 1402 (Constantinople, the Despotate of the Morea, Thessaloniki and some islands).

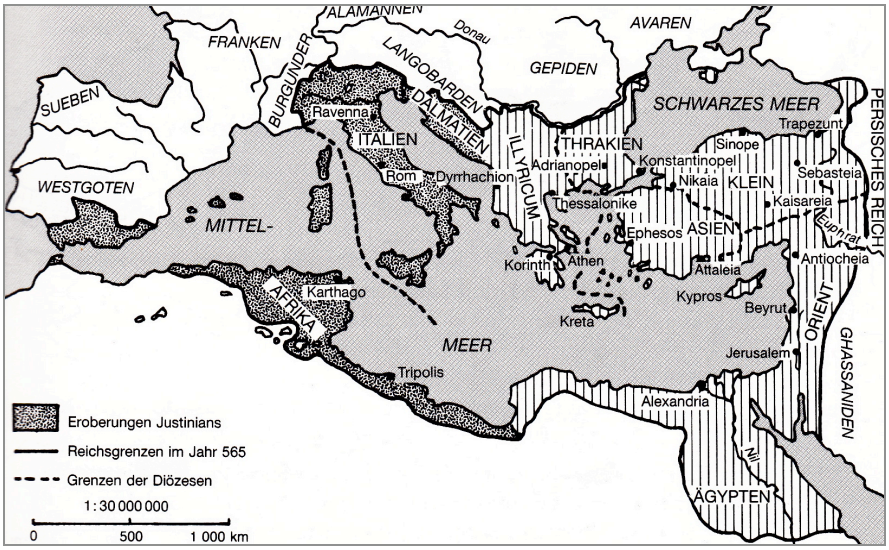

Figure 3. The shaded and dotted regions together represent the Byzantine empire at the height of its territorial expansion under Justinian (527–565).

Almost a century before Johannes Gemistus published his poem, Plethon had claimed that there was no country more appropriate to the Hellenes than the Peloponnesus together with 'the areas of Europe bordering upon it as well as the islands off its coast', because they had lived there from days immemorial.[755] Although it is impossible to establish whether Gemistus had intimate knowledge of Plethon's work, it is striking that his imaginary geography of 'Graecia' is, very roughly, in accordance with the philosopher's definition of the heartland of the Hellenes, even if this definition is admittedly vague. The European regions closest to the Peloponnesus are, of course, Attica and Boeotia – and places from these regions are indeed grouped together by Gemistus immediately after the Peloponnesus and just before he summed up the Ionian and Aegean islands. Although Plethon's definition leaves implicit what regions and islands he has in mind, the areas Gemistus represented as the most important ones roughly correspond to Plethon's conception of the Hellenic heartland. In other words, the poet grouped together the various regions of 'Graecia' around the cultural and political centres of the Byzantine empire: Constantinople and the Peloponnesus.

Apart from carving out a distinct position for Greece on the European ethno-cultural map, Gemistus also tried to connect his country and its inhabitants with other European countries. In the catalogue of Spanish auxiliaries, for instance, Gemistus mentioned the Spanish 'Gravians' who are 'related to the Greeks by blood' ('cognati sanguine Graiis'). Importantly, the ethnic identification of the Spanish 'Gravians' with the Greeks from the time of Diomedes (the founder of Spanish Tyde) resulted in special commitment to the liberation of 'Graecia'. Gemistus predicted that they would be eager to protect their ancient Penates and to put an end to the dishonour of their ancestors.[756] Exactly the same idea is applied to the inhabitants of Marseilles, the 'Massilienses', who were, according to the poet, also of Greek extraction. Summing up the auxiliaries of the French king Louis XII, the poet claimed that the inhabitants of the French harbour city

[755] Plethon, ed. Lambros (1926a) 247-248: '...Ἕλλησι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἥτις ἄλλη οἰκειοτέρα χώρα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον προσήκουσα ἢ Πελοπόννησός τε καὶ ὅση δὴ ταύτῃ τῆς Εὐρώπης προσεχὴς τῶν τε αὖ νήσων αἱ ἐπικείμεναι'. For an English paraphrase of the letter see Woodhouse (1986) 102-106 with discussion on 106-118.

[756] Gemistus (1516) fol. Dii^{r} ll. 25-29: 'At Grauii quondam cognati sanguine Graiis | Exultant properantque suis coniungere dextras | Patribus et bello ueteres pugnare penates | Sanguine barbarico ferroque abolere parentum | Dedecus et rabidos armis prosternere Turcas'. The manuscript of the Biblioteca Laurenziana gives 'fratribus' instead of 'patribus' (fol. 25^{r} l. 14). The idea that the 'Gravians' are related to the Greeks is derived from Silius Italicus and Pliny (Sil. 1.235, 3.366; Plin. *NH* 4.122).

are particularly willing to come to the aid of their former fatherland ('patriae priscae') and to take revenge for their ancestors ('ulciscique suos … parentes').[757]

Gemistus' tendency to present the Greeks as intimately connected with the European Christians may also help us to understand better why he *excluded* the Asian shores from his imaginary geography of Greece. He generally represented the 'peoples of Asia' in firm contradistinction to the European Greeks.[758] As in Bessarion's *Orationes contra Turcas* (see chapter 3, p. 125), the main opposition in the *Protrepticon et pronosticon* is that between civilised Christians and barbarian non-Christians. This division has an almost schematic geographical underpinning: Europe is Christian and civilised, while in Asia and Africa barbarism and irreligion rule.[759] It seems that Gemistus was well aware of the fact that as a region, Greece had always been on the edge of Europe. Baptista Mantuanus, for example, emphasised its liminal position in Europe when he wrote that the Greeks alone could resist all of Asia because they were located on the outer edge of Europe.[760] In the recent past, the liminal position of Greece had led hostile westerners to transform the Greeks into oriental enemies, or in other words to orientalise them.[761] As Gemistus aimed at galvanising support for the liberation of Greece, it was obviously to his advantage to make his country as European as possible and to exclude those parts of the Greek-speaking world that could give rise to negative 'orientalising' stereotypes.

In order to understand Gemistus' geo-mnemonic image of Greece, then, we must take into account the immediate audience and the purpose of the poem in which it was

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[757] Gemistus (1516) fol. Di^{v} ll. 5-7: 'Graiugenumque etiam generati Massilienses | Progenie properant patriae succurre<re> priscae | Vlciscique suos belloque armisque parentes'. The ancient sources specify that Massalia was founded by Phocaeans (cf. Thuc. 1.13; Str. 6.1.1; Paus. 10.8.6; Liv. 5.34.8; 34.9.1; Vell. Pat. 2.7; Plin. *NH* 3.34; Gel. 10.16.4). Gemistus also reminds his readers of the Greek background of the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasily III Ivanovitch (cf. fol. Fii^{r} ll. 11-12) as his mother, Zoë (later Sophia) Palaeologina, was the niece of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI Palaeologus. Yet this is a form of dynastic rather than ethnic linking.

[758] See Gemistus (1516) fols. Gii^{v} l. 5 – Giii^{r} l. 10.

[759] Apart from these historical and rhetorical factors, however, pragmatic motives might have played their role as well in Gemistus' representation of 'Graecia'. Gemistus might have seen the inclusion of the Anatolian coast into the territory of 'Graecia' as unrealistic or over-ambitious as to claim localities in Asia and Africa.

[760] Mantanus, ed. Cupaerus (1576) 167^{v}: 'Et positi Europae supremo in limite Graii | Toti Asiae soli potuere obsistere' (14.78). In his *De calamitate temporum*, ed. Wessels (1916) 30 he referred to Constantinople as follows: 'Arx erat Europes et inexpugnabile quondam | Romanae fidei vallum Mahometica contra | Arma, minas Asiae frenans, Libyaeque tumultum'.

[761] Hunger (1987).

articulated. After all, Gemistus did not evoke Greece in an outburst of lyrical nostalgia, but shaped an image of his fatherland in an attempt to induce the pope into a campaign to liberate it. Therefore, the poet's main task was to represent 'Graecia' as a worthy Christian country within Europe side by side with, for instance, the already existing French Kingdom and the Italian city states, and within the contours of the newly founded *imperium Christianum* (on which see below). Both Gemistus' emphasis on ancient Greece and the way he stressed the Christian character of his 'Graecia' together suited this purpose. Of course, to restore the Byzantine or eastern Roman empire, the long-lasting enemy of the West and the Roman Church, was not a viable option. However, to set free the land of the ancient Greeks could be an integral part of a Holy War administered by a pope who was both humanist and Christian. For a humanist-Christian addressee such as Leo X, it was perfectly consistent to liberate the places associated with ancient Greek literature and learning, and the sacred sites associated with the birth, ministry, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ in one single campaign. Apart from the *ekphrasis* of the Hagia Sophia, Gemistus in addition repeatedly stressed that the Greek renegades under Ottoman domination had not forgotten their original religion. They preserved the memory of 'the faith of their parents', spurring them to action against the Turks; they would turn to the pope *en masse*, joining his army of 'devout Christians' and willingly taking orders from their 'lord and father'.[762] As Gemistus represented it, then, both Greece and the Holy Land were connected to the principal concerns of a humanist-Christian addressee such as Leo X.

The politicisation of Graecia: Gemistus' Greek monarchy

In Gemistus' poem, 'Graecia' is presented as both different enough to be distinguished from other European nations, but similar enough to be placed among them. Geographically, culturally and ethnically, 'Graecia' was an integral but distinctive part of Europe. Yet Gemistus went a step further in his delineation of his *patria*, and territorialised 'Graecia' politically. He not only sketched the geographical contours of his fatherland, but also imagined it as a future body politic. After describing the future recovery of Greece in the fourth chapter, as well as the conquests of parts of both Asia and Africa, the poet or *vates* predicted the pope's recapture of the Holy Land. There, before returning to Rome in triumph, Leo X as a second Constantine the Great will fortify the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, found a city named after himself, and erect a

[762] Gemistus (1516) fols. Ei^{v} l. 29 – Eii^{r} l. 13. A similar idea is expressed by Lascaris in his speech to Charles V (see the edition by Nikas 1995: 53-65).

triumphal monument.[763] The leaders of the crusade project will attach an epigram to the monument, part of which runs as follows:

> 'Hic Leo magnanimus Thusca de stirpe creatus,
> Antistes Decimus perpetuusque dei,
> Deuicit populos Asiae Libiaeque feroces
> Vtque uides, propria sub ditione tenet
> Atque sibi totum uigilando subdidit orbem
> Graiugenisque uetus reddidit imperium'.[764]

> *Here, Leo the Magnanimous, from Tuscan stock, the tenth [of that name] and universal high-priest of God, defeated the ferocious peoples of Asia and Libya and brought them, as you see, under his jurisdiction; by his vigilance he subdued the whole world, and gave back to the Greeks their ancient power.*

This inscription leads to the question how exactly Gemistus saw the new world order resulting from the crusade project and, more importantly, how he saw the role of 'Graecia' in it. The epigram commemorates in anticipation, first, that the pope defeated and brought under his authority the peoples of Asia and Africa, secondly, that he subjected the whole world, and thirdly, that he gave back to the 'Graiugeni' their ancient power. What do these statements mean of we read them together?

As to the first, the words 'propria sub ditione' can be understood to signify that Africa and Asia are under the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of the pope, but they are also suggestive of papal sovereignty in these areas, especially so since the 'Dicio Pontificia' refers to the Papal States.[765] In contrast, the claim that the pope subjugated 'the whole world' can obviously not mean *political* subjugation within the context of the poem. It is inconceivable that the pope would subject the whole world to his sovereignty, *including* the territories of his allies. If subjugation is not strictly political, the line must mean that the pope brought the whole world under his *spiritual* authority. In other words, through mass conversion, he would establish a world-wide community of Christians subjected to Rome (an *imperium Christianum*). In the imaginary

[763] Gemistus (1516) fols. Gii^{v} l. 5 – Hii^{v} l. 8; fols. Hiii^{r} l. 4 – Hiii^{v} l. 10; fols. Hii^{v} l. 9 – Hiii^{r} l. 3 and fols. Hiii^{v} l. 11 – Hiv^{r} l. 23; fol. Ii^{v} ll. 17 – 29; fols. Ii^{r} l. 16 – Ii^{v} l. 17.

[764] Gemistus (1516) fol. Ii^{v} ll. 6-11.

[765] 'Dicio' has a wide variety of meanings, basically boiling down to 'power' (*imperium, potestas, jurisdictio*) and, metonymically, the territory where this power is exerted (*regnum*). Apart from this, it also refers to the more abstract concept of 'authority' (*auctoritas*) in which the right to govern resides. See *MLW s.v.* 'dicio'.

inscription, the 'Graiugeni' are singled out from this newly established community. The statement that the pope gave back to them their 'ancient power' or 'ancient imperium' ('imperium' can mean both) prompts the question who the 'Graiugeni' are and how they relate to the new world order the pope established. Are they the Greeks? Or must we understand these 'Graiugeni' in terms of a wider community of 'Romans'?

Although the latter suggestion may seem far-fetched, it cannot be rejected too easily. The ancient link of kinship between the Romans and the Greeks could be used to relate the Italians (as descendants of the Romans) with the Byzantines (as descendants of the Greeks). In the last instance, this means that both Italians and Byzantines could be identified as Greeks, an idea that culminated in Janus Lascaris' conclusion that Italians and Byzantines were 'one and the same people' ('unum et idem genus').[766] This logic indeed opens up the possibility that the word 'Graiugeni' refers not so much to the Greeks *exclusively* but to the Byzantines together with the Italians *inclusively*. If indeed the 'Graiugeni' are the post-Byzantines together with the Italians, the 'ancient imperium' must be the *imperium Christianum*. As in Lascaris' *Florentine Oration*, discussed in the previous chapter, it would be a highly strategical move to include the Italians into a Greek group so as to maximise commitment to the liberation of 'Graecia'.

It is significant in this context that Leo X himself is placed on a par with the heroes of ancient Greek history in Gemistus' catalogue of Greek heroes. After mentioning the more than ninety Greek heroes who cannot safeguard 'Graecia', Gemistus introduced the pope as her liberator. 'Here is the man', he stated, 'the man who will defeat the raving Turks and the ferocious peoples through his determination and warfare, and who will put them, finally beaten, to flight'.[767] By introducing pope Leo X to 'Graecia' as 'the revenger of your blood', Gemistus included him, proleptically, among the famous heroes of Greek history. Similarly, Italian intellectuals could receive the honorary title of 'Hellene' for their knowledge of Greek literature and the Greek language. Yet even though the label 'Greek' could be allotted to individual humanists, it was not applied to the Italians in general. Even Lascaris, who suggested that Romans and Greeks were 'one and the same people', did *also* emphasise the differences between Greeks and Romans in terms of being, respectively, original and derivative Greeks. Concomitantly, he does not use the word 'Graeci' or an equivalent to denote the Romans or Italians in general. Also, in the *Protrepticon et pronosticon* itself, Gemistus used 'Graeci' or 'Graiugeni' to refer to

[766] See chapter 5, pp. 171-176.

[767] Gemistus (1516) fol. Ciii^{v} ll. 10-11: 'Hic est ille, tui fusi iam sanguinis ultor, | Graecia, qui rabidos Turcas populosque feroces | Consilio et bello uincet uictosque fugabit'.

the Greeks under Ottoman domination, not to refer to the Italians as a group. He is in fact very restrictive in relating Greeks with other European peoples on the basis of kinship, pointing only at the Greek origin of the Spanish 'Gravians' and the inhabitants of Marseilles. So, it seems that 'Graiugeni' refers exclusively to the Greeks: the pope will restore *their* ancient power.

The identification of the 'Graiugeni' with the post-Byzantine Greeks is confirmed by the fact that, when Gemistus introduced Leo X to 'Graecia' in the second chapter of the poem, he stated that the pope will give back to 'Graecia' not only the ancient diadem, but also her 'imperium ingens orbis sine fine' (an allusion to Vergil to which I come back later):

> 'Et tibi restituet sacrum diadema uetustum
> Imperiumque ingens orbis sine fine tuosque
> Libertate frui populos et pace perenni
> Instituet legesque dabit legumque ministros'.[768]
>
> *[This is also the man] who will give back to you both your sacred ancient diadem and an immense power over the world without end. He will make sure that your peoples will enjoy liberty and perennial peace and he will give you laws and ministers to safeguard them.*

This prophecy in the second chapter anticipates the event commemorated in the above-cited epigram taken from the seventh and last chapter of the poem. To put it differently, the statements that ancient power will be transferred to 'Graecia', and that it has indeed been transferred to the 'Graiugeni', are parallel statements. This gives us a final clue that 'ancient power' is given back to the post-Byzantine Greeks and not to the Italians framed as some sort of Greeks. It makes the 'Graiugeni' an also *politically* distinct group, and 'Graecia' a political besides a geographical and cultural entity. How should we imagine 'Graecia' as a political entity? Also on this subject, Gemistus is quite explicit.

The singularity of 'Graecia' in the world order evoked in Gemistus' poem is further established by the contours of the new Greek kingdom Gemistus called forth. So, he foretold how Leo X would make arrangements for the government of 'Graecia', establishing both 'holy laws' ('leges sanctas') and 'public rights' ('publica iura').[769] Yet Leo X will not himself rule over the Greeks but transfer 'the ancient diadem of the Greek

[768] Gemistus (1516) fol. Ciii^{v} ll. 13-16.
[769] Gemistus (1516) fol. Fi^{r} l. 16 - Fi^{v} l. 2.

empire' to his brother who will thus become 'monarch' ('monarcha').[770] This monarch will rule over the regions encompassed by the Ionian, Aegean, and Black Seas, which means, in Gemistus' words, over the entire Greek people ('totum genus Graecorum'). After the pope's triumphal entry in Constantinople, he will moreover restore a '*pontifex magnus dominus* whom we call patriarch' presiding over religious matters, governing the clergy, taking care of Christian souls, and restoring to their ancient honour the ruined and desecrated churches.[771] In this way, then, Gemistus reconciled the seemingly conflicting ideals of Greek liberation and autonomy, and papal world supremacy. A strikingly similar plan had previously been proposed by Michael Apostoles in a different context. In his Greek address to emperor Frederick III, he advised to transfer 'the kingdom of Byzantium' to the emperor's son Maximilian so that the dispersed Hellenes would regain their fatherland.[772] While Laonikos Chalkokondyles had hoped for a Hellenic king reuniting all Hellenes in one Greek kingdom, both Apostoles and Gemistus recognised the possibility of Greek freedom under Latin rule. Of course this may be the result of the context in which they wrote. Different from Chalkokondyles they addressed a Latin audience in an attempt to win it over for a crusade against the Turks. As they accommodated the concerns of their audience, we cannot take their views on the political future of Greece at face value. Even so, the fact remains that especially Gemistus did not represent Greece as part of the new Papal *oikoumene* in contradistinction to the other conquered territories of Asia and Africa. Although Gemistus left implicit whether or not the Greeks would be involved in the political organisation of the Greek kingdom, the reader of Gemistus' poem is left with an awareness of Greece as a territorially defined and politically unified region within the boundaries of Europe more than five hundred years before the establishment of the nation state Hellas.

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[770] Reference is to either Giuliano de'Medici (suggested in Manoussakas 1965: 38 n. 83) or the pope's half-brother and right-hand Giulio di Giuliano de'Medici, future pope Clement VII.

[771] Gemistus (1516) fol. Gii^{r} l. 24 - Gii^{v} l. 4.

[772] Apostoles, ed. Laourdas (1953) 522-523 ll. 147-149: 'Δεῖξον ἡμῖν βασιλέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου Μαξιμιανὸν τὸν πανευτυχέστατον, ὅς σου τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ γήρᾳ βαθεῖ ἀντιδέξεται. Ἀπόδος τὸ πανταχοῦ γῆς διεσπαρμένον γένος ἡμῶν τῇ πατρίδι, τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὑψηλότατον καὶ σοφώτατον, νῦν δ' ἐξουθενημένον καὶ ταπεινότατον' *[Please offer us as king of Byzantium the universally most successful Maximilian, who shall receive in return your kingdom at your advanced age. Restore our people, living scattered all around this earth, once the loftiest and wisest of all, now despised and humbled, to its fatherland]*. I wrote 'ἀντιδέξεται' instead of 'ἀνταδέξεται' as it is in Laourdas' text. Cf. Binner (1980) 190-196, 237-238.

All this leaves us with a – at first sight at least – curious association of 'Graecia' with the imperial tradition of Rome. Traces of the Byzantine, or rather *Roman*, imperial tradition are particularly detectable in the symbolism Gemistus adopted for the new Greek kingdom. The diadem is the imperial symbol par excellence,[773] and the phrasing 'imperium ingens orbis sine fine' is strongly reminiscent of Vergil's *Aeneid*, where Jupiter promises to Venus that he will not set limits in space or time to the Romans but give them instead an 'empire without end' ('imperium sine fine').[774] The fact that Gemistus reused the Vergilian phrase here is notable as the lines imply that the pope will restore to Greece the lost imperial authority of Rome. Although it is difficult to explain Gemistus' allusion to the Roman myth consistently, the allusion to the Vergilian theme of eternal Roman power subtly reminds the reader of the distinguished position of 'Graecia' as 'the rivalling peer of the Roman empire'.[775] These allusions to the Roman imperial tradition in the context of the political constitution of 'Graecia' thus served to give substance to Gemistus' claim to political power and a form of autonomy for Greece. While references to protagonists of ancient Greek history served to bolster up the geographical shape of 'Graecia', allusions to the imperial tradition of Constantinople thus enabled Gemistus to transform 'Graecia' from a historical space into a political territory.[776] In this way, the

[773] The Hellenistic symbol of the diadem was introduced by Constantine I, and its evolution impacted on crowns until the twelfth century. See *ODB s.v.* 'crown'.

[774] Compare Gemistus (1516) fol. Ciii^{v} ll. 13-14 with Verg. *Aen.* 2.278-279: 'His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; | Imperium sine fine dedi'.

[775] Phrase taken from Ugonius (1559) fol. 16^{v}, where, in a dialogue between 'Graecia' and 'Italia' regarding their respective misfortunes, the former refers to herself as the 'mater liberalium disciplinarum et alumna uirtutis domiciliumque libertatis atque *emula Romani imperii*' (*the mother of the liberal arts and the disciple of virtue, the abode of freedom, and* the rivalling colleague of the Roman empire). Note that in Sal. *Cat.* 10, the very similar phrase 'aemula imperi Romani' is applied to Rome's archenemy Carthage. The Vergilian subtext might be ambiguous enough to signify that by creating a Greek kingdom the pope does not so much restore a universal empire ruled by the Greeks as he gives back to them the endless power or influence of Greece over the world. Kantorowicz (1957) 397 observes that the meaning of the term *imperium* had begun to shift in the direction of *dignitas* in the sixteenth century. So, we are also left with the possibility that through the installation of a monarch over Greece, the country is imagined as regaining its *dignitas* in the world. So construed, however, the addition of 'orbis' is difficult to account for. In addition to this, unfortunately, Kantorowicz' semantic claim is not substantiated with conclusive evidence.

[776] Another possibility interpretation of Gemistus' imperial symbolism is to see it as an implicit appeal to restore something of an eastern Roman empire, yet this is not conclusively substantiated by what Gemistus says in his poem and moreover sits uneasily with the idea that 'Graecia' as a fixed territory would be ruled by a non-Greek.

poet showed, first, that his fatherland had an ancient and venerable history of its own and, second, that 'Graecia' had constituted a distinguished body politic until 1453.

Hellenism as a unifying space: Gemistus' and Sophianus' Graeciae

The previous sections showed how Gemistus developed a unitary vision on 'Graecia', culturally, geographically, and politically. How unusual such an explicit and detailed vision on the country was by the time the poem was published in print becomes especially clear if we take into account how 'Graecia' was traditionally represented in the most obvious medium to represent geographical and territorial space: cartography. In cartographical terms, a really coherent view of 'Graecia' as a distinct region developed only some twenty years *after* Gemistus' poem had been published. In 1540, the Cretan scholar Nicolaus Sophianus published for the first time his regional map of Greece in Rome.[777] Like Gemistus, Sophianus produced an image of 'Graecia' that did not correspond to any geographical unit or political territory described by one single ancient historian or geographer, nor to any political reality in past or present.[778] To relate Gemistus' representation of Greece to Sophianus' regional map of 'all of Greece' and the cartographical tradition that preceded it enables us to see the extent of Gemistus' invention in his *Protrepticon et pronosticon* also from the angle of another medium than literature and poetry.[779]

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[777] Although the map was produced in print for the first time in 1540, its earliest surviving copy dates from 1545. Sophianus' map became an authoritative cartographical image ever since it influenced Sebastian Münster's representation of Greece in his *Cosmography* (1544), and became canonised by its inclusion in the *Parergon* of Abraham Ortelius as 'Graecia Sophiani', or 'Sophianus' Greece', in 1597. See. Tolias (2001) 3-6. The only comprehensive studies on the map are by Tolias (2001) and (2006), but see also Tolias (2012) 87-93 with splendid reproductions of the maps.

[778] Tolias (2006) 168, but for a possible antecedent see Tolias (2012) 62.

[779] When I wrote the body of this chapter, Tolias (2012) had not yet been published. For my information on cartographical representations of Greece, I relied on the useful catalogue of printed maps of Greece dating from the period 1477–1800 compiled by Zacharakis. I used the second edition of 1992 instead of the third of 2009 because it is compatible with the helpful concordance in Tolias (2012) 534-535. Detailed analyses of the cartographical representation of Greece in the period between 1420 and 1800 are in Tolias (2012). See also Tolias (2006), exploring Nicolaus Sophianus' *Descriptio* with particular attention to is sources and function, Tolias (2001), comparing the maps of Sophianus, Valestinlis and Paparrigopoulos, and Tolias (2011), discussing the interrelation between humanism, geography and cartography. Tolias (2010) evaluates the production of Greek maps in the period of the Enlightenment (1665–1820). An early but universally overlooked contribution to the study of Sophianus' map is Hamel (1962).

Sophianus' map unites in one single cartographical picture the Peloponnesus, Achaea, Epirus and Macedonia with all of the Balkans south of the Danube together with western Anatolia and a small part of southern Italy, or Magna Graecia (see figure 4 below).[780]

Figure 4. 'Graecia Sophiani' after Ortelius' reprint.

Sophianus avoids Byzantine and Ottoman place names in favour of the ancient names derived from the ancient historians, and particularly the Greek authors Strabo and Pausanias. As such, it is an assemblage of geographical data derived from Greek literature and pertaining to what Sophianus saw as Greek history. Even though the map focuses, historically speaking, on the Roman imperial period, it ranges from mythical and Homeric times (invoked by places such as Iolkos, Troy and Mycenae) to the times of the late Roman and early Byzantine history (represented by places such as Nicopolis, Adrianopolis, and Constantinople).[781]

[780] The best reproductions of Sophianus' map are in Tolias (2012) 86, 89, 91, 92.
[781] Tolias (2006) 168.

By depicting historical places from all periods of Greek history on one single map Sophianus created a static historical-geographical image of Greece. As George Tolias has argued in a seminal article on the map, this representation aimed to 'restore the cartographical image of ancient Greece and thus to stipulate that Greece was a historical, geographical and, thanks to the names of regions and seas lettered in Greek, linguistic reality, not just a scholarly and artistic idea regained through Latin reminiscences'.[782] Through unifying the full geographical extent of Hellenism in one single map under the flag of 'Graecia', Sophianus inaugurated, again in Tolias' words, 'the ideological construct of Hellenism as a unifying space'.[783]

The importance of Sophianus' invention appears most clearly when we see his image of 'Graecia' in the cartographical tradition that preceded his achievement, but also persisted after the publication of his map. Very important to understand Renaissance images of 'Graecia' are the maps attached to editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*, either in manuscript, or in print (from 1477 on in many editions).[784] These normally comprised a separate map depicting a part of the Balkans, entitled 'Decima et Vltima Europae Tabula' ('The Tenth and Last Map of Europe'). Unlike Sophianus' regional map of Greece, the *ultima tabula* did not present 'Graecia' in a comprehensive way. The map depicted Macedonia, the Peloponnesus, Achaea, Epirus, Crete and the Cyclades, while Thrace, Asia Minor, and Magna Graecia were left outside the cartographical picture.[785] So, for instance, the map in Bessarion's manuscript edition of the *Geography* (figure 5 on the next page) depicts Macedonia, Epirus, Achaea, the Peloponnesus and the adjacent islands. On most early maps such as Bessarion's, 'Graecia' or 'Hellas' is not explicitly mentioned, either on the map itself, or in the caption (see, apart from the map on the previous page, also figure 6 on the next page, which appears in the Ulm-edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, issued in 1486).

[782] Tolias (2006) 168.

[783] Tolias (2001) 17.

[784] For an overview of early modern editions of Ptolemy with maps of the Greek world see Zacharakis (1992) 133-137.

[785] In early modern editions of Ptolemy's maps, Thrace was included in *Tabula IX* of Europe, while Cyprus was on *Tabula IV* with Asia together with the coast of Syria (Tolias 2012: 62).

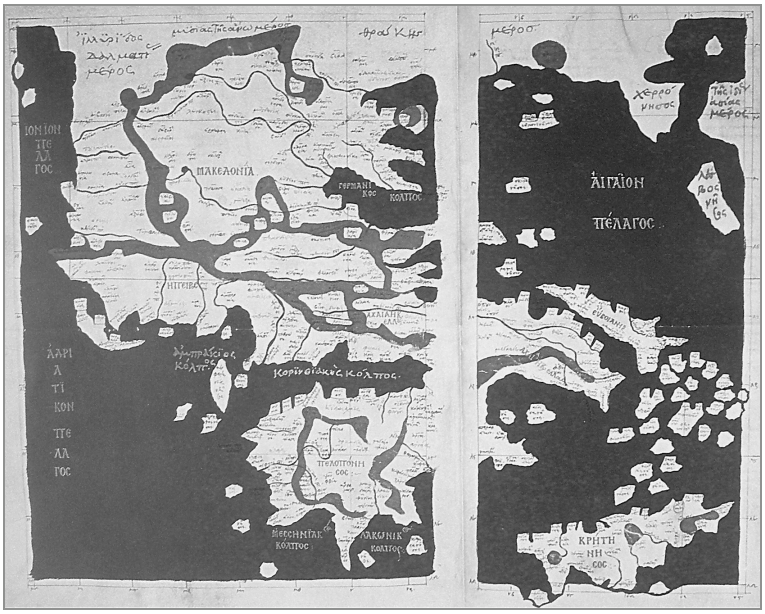

Figure 5. The tenth map of Europe from Bessarion's *Geography*.

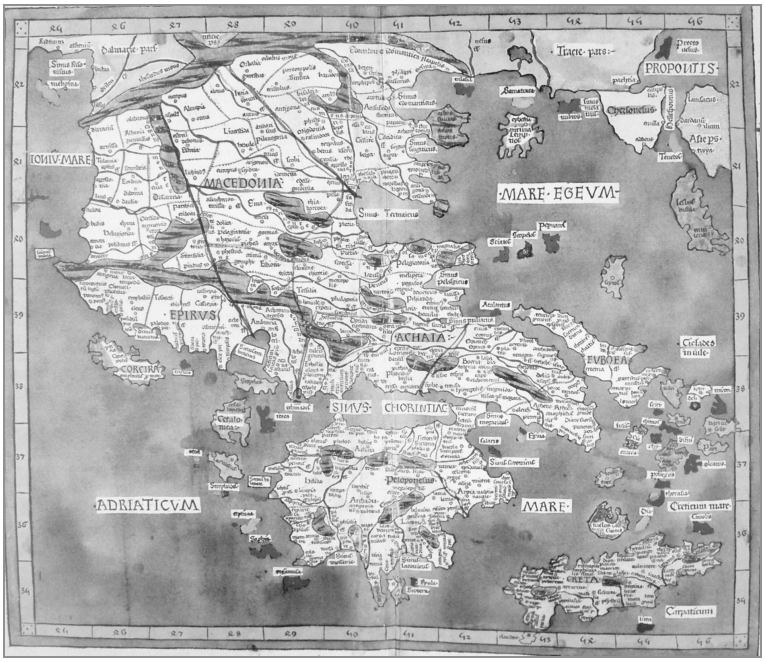

Figure 6. The first woodcut print of the tenth map of Europe (1486).

Even in cases where Greece is indicated on a map, there may be confusion about its exact location and boundaries. In Sebastian Münster's famous edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* (1540), for example, the *ultima tabula* is for the first time explicitly identified as a map of 'Graecia'.[786] According to the outline on the reverse of the map, it coincided only with the regions of Macedonia, Epirus, Achaea, the Peloponnesus together with Euboea and Creta and the adjacent islands. If we look at the map itself, however, we find both the labels 'Hellas' and 'Graecia' without clear demarcations of their geographical scope (figure 7 below).[787] While on this map 'Hellas' and 'Graecia' are located west of Locris, east of Acarnania, and south of Thessaly, Ptolemy's own definition of Hellas suggests that it must coincide with Achaea.[788] This is only one example out of many where there is confusion over the exact location of ancient Greece.

Figure 7. The 'Tabula Europae X' from Münster's edition of Ptolemy.

[786] Tolias (2012) 39.

[787] Compare the similar location of modern 'Griechenlandt' on the 'Nova Graecia'-maps in the German edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* by Sebastian Münster (Zacharakis 1992: pl. 323 with map nr. 1579 and pl. 325 with map nr. 1581).

[788] Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.15.1. In a letter to Jacobo de Marchia (dated May 20, 1459), cardinal Bessarion described the Morea as part of 'Graecia'. See Bessarion, Mohler (1942) 491 ll. 1-2: 'In Graecia est quaequam magna provincia, quae vulgariter appellatur Morea … '.

Not unlike the historical maps, also the maps of modern 'Graecia' are vague and indecisive in their cartographical delineations. Editors of Ptolemy's *Geography* often added an updated map of the modern Balkans to their editions. Unlike the historical maps, the modern *tabulae* present modern place names instead of the ancient ones. So, for instance, the Peloponnesus is called the Morea, the Greek west-coast 'Albania', and southern mainland Greece is referred to as the Duchy of Athens.[789] Even though the exact borders of 'Graecia' remain implicit, these maps show that the region can be distinguished from regions such as Bosnia, Serbia and 'Sclavonia'. This already appears from their captions displaying 'Graecia' as a distinct entity, such as the 'Tabula moderna Bossine, Servie, Gretiae et Sclavonie' in the Strasbourg-editions of 1513 and 1520 (see figure 8 on the next page). Also, on the *tabula* attached to the 1541 Venetian edition of Ptolemy, entitled 'New Map of Greece, Sclavonia and Bulgaria' ('Tabula nova Graeciae, Sclavoniae, & Bulgariae'), the word 'Graecia' seems to be used as a comprehensive umbrella-term even if it is unclear what exact areas go under its heading.

Apart from this, on the modern maps, 'Graecia' usually has a wider scope in line with Sophianus' representation. So, for instance, on the map attached to the 1548 edition of Ptolemy, we find 'Graetia' in the title of a map roughly depicting the region of modern Greece and Albania with southern Thrace, parts of the Anatolian coast in the East and some Italian towns like Taranto, Brindisi and Otranto in the West.[790] Still, however, the boundaries of 'Graecia' remain just as implicit as the criteria for distinguishing the region from other regions. Therefore, it generally remains unclear whether 'Graecia' represents a religious, linguistic, historical or even vaguer cultural entity on the European map.[791]

Through his *Descriptio totius Graeciae* Sophianus counteracted the fragmentary image of 'Graecia' by uniting it in one coherent cartographical picture that enabled one

[789] Zacharakis (1992) 11. It must be noted that 'modern' does often not mean 'contemporaneous'. So, for instance, the reference to the 'Duchy of Athens' on some modern maps of the first half of the sixteenth century does nor refer to contemporaneous realities (the Duchy of Athens fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1460). On the ways Ptolemy was modernised during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see also Tolias (2012) 61-71.

[790] It concerns the maps of G. Castaldi in the Ptolemy-edition of N. Boscarini and G.P. Pedrezano. More details and a reproduction can be found in Zacharakis (1992) pl. 406 with map nr. 1667. Cf. Zacharakis (1992) pl. 48 with map nr. 1847.

[791] To rubric such Ptolemaic maps attached to editions of the *Geography* as 'maps of Greece', as does Christos Zacharakis in his very useful overview work of 'maps of Greece', is in fact misleading as they represent some *regions of Europe*, and not Greece properly speaking. The problem of defintion now explored in detail in Tolias (2012) 58-131.

to speak about the region as a unified space. But even if it was, in Sophianus' view, a cultural-historical entity placed in an unspecified multi-layered past, 'Graecia' did not represent a *political* entity in past, present or future.[792] In this respect, the 'Graeciae' of Gemistus and Sophianus differ. Despite the fact that both represent Greece as a coherent and unitary space, there are crucial differences in their media and purposes.

Figure 8. Modern map from Waldseemüller's edition of the Ptolemy.

While Sophianus created a map by distilling as much geographical data as he could from the ancient sources, basically for scholarly purposes, Gemistus composed a protreptic poem aiming at the liberation of the country he depicted as strategically and favourably as possible. Gemistus' carefully crafted recollection of 'Graecia' is projected into the

[792] Only in the eighteenth century, the territory humanists had described as 'Graecia' was explicitly mentioned with reference to its new political circumstances. Particularly on English and French maps of the Greek world that were printed in this period, the Greek region is called 'European Turkey' or 'Turkey in Europe'. See, among other examples, Zacharakis (1992) map nrs. 4, 43, 108, 111, 263, 277, 278, 453, 466, 479, 481, 484, 500, 555, 558, 592, 605, 905, 920, 964, 989, 991, 994, 998, 1146, 1327, 1534, 1538, 1541, 1668, 1904, 2044, 2071, 2073, 2076, 2117, 2344, 2372, 2401, 2421, 2424. But note Benedetto Ramberti's *Delle cose de Turchi libri tre*, where Greece is alternatively defined as the European part of the Turkish empire (Ramberti 1541: fols. 22^{v}-23^{r}).

future, while Sophianus' map does not represent present or future, but a holistic view on the ancient past.[793] Unlike Sophianus and the cartographical tradition that preceded him, Gemistus for the first time really politicised 'Graecia'. If we want to find an implicit political agenda behind Sophianus' map, it seems that through its focus on the Roman phases of Greek history, it integrates Greek and Roman antiquity, and as such appealed to the Christian universalism prevailing in Rome under the humanist Popes before the Council of Trent (1545–1564).[794] Gemistus' Hellenism, on the other hand, did not serve to unify Greek and Roman pasts, nor to present 'Graecia' as a cultural-historical bridge towards the East, but rather to unify and set free an imaginary 'Graecia'.

Gemistus' politicisation of Greece set limits to the image of 'Graecia' the poet constructed in his poem. So, for example, unlike Sophianus, Gemistus would never be able to include Magna Graecia into his Greek kingdom as this would be a provocation of his Italian audience. Also, in his effort to represent 'Graecia' as a European country, he avoided including Asian place names and ethnonyms. As Gemistus' further political and cultural ideas remain unknown, it is obviously impossible to establish whether the poet also envisioned a more inclusive cultural or historical 'Graecia' as in Sophianus' representation of *tota Graecia* besides the politico-territorial Greece he constructed, for specific purposes, in his *Protrepticon et pronosticon*. His poem does not reveal anything about how Gemistus *personally* perceived his fatherland, in the same way that Sophianus' map must not be seen as a truthful reflection of how the cartographer perceived of his real fatherland. Still, Gemistus' imaginary geography of 'Graecia' presents not only a 'unifying space', but the first really *politico-territorial* representation of one possible modern Greece. In this sense, Gemistus' poetical representation of Greece was more revolutionary than Sophianus' cartographical image of the country, even though Sophianus' image had an important impact on the way Greece was imagined as a geographical space.

Although Gemistus' poem is a prophecy, his poem is as much about the past as it is about the future. The above analysis has shown that sites of memory are central to the poem. The places Gemistus mentioned – from towns and villages to the edifice of the Hagia Sophia – are one by one sites of memory that together constitute the memory site called 'Graecia'. The poet did not only present his homeland 'Graecia' as a place that was inextricably bound up with the past, but also anticipated the commemoration of its liberation by invoking the monuments and celebratory inscriptions to celebrate future

[793] For a detailed account of Sophianus' sources and innovations see Tolias (2006).
[794] Tolias (2006) 168.

achievements. By the same token, the poet repeatedly referred to the 'restoration' of his homeland. In so doing, he implicitly suggested that the country whose liberation he projected into the future had actually existed in the past. In this way, Gemistus silently guided the way Byzantium must be remembered – not as the eastern Roman empire it had claimed to be for about a millennium, but as a polity of Greeks who had once possessed the *imperium romanum*.

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The *Protrepticon et pronosticon* has been criticised as an ivory-tower construct that must be praised as a literary and intellectual rather than a political achievement.[795] The above analysis showed that Gemistus' poem is much more than the expression of otherworldly nostalgia. His poem is emblematic for the way diasporic Hellenism negotiates between 'here' and 'there', between host society and homeland. While Gemistus presented Greece through a Latin lens, he at the same time introduced the liberation of his fatherland into humanist crusade rhetoric. Instead of harking back to a lost homeland, Gemistus shaped a new one that had never existed before, even though he presented it as if the country he recollected had an age-old history that had been interrupted by the advent of the Ottoman Turks. He projected a well-defined political territory upon the rather vague cultural notion of 'Graecia' that had not yet found its articulation where we would most expect it, viz. on maps.

As we have seen, Gemistus' imagined homeland is a collage of different pasts. While he connected individual places with the ancient Greek past, his outline of Greece clearly mirrors late-Byzantine realities with Constantinople and the Peloponnesus in full spotlight. The conflation of Greek and Roman as well as pagan and Christian pasts in Gemistus' poem thus leads to a form of mnemonic syncretism, i.e. the commemoration of multiple pasts that are, in other contexts, quite independent of one another.[796] The traditional concept of the site of memory has been criticised for its incapability to accommodate such 'encounters between diverse pasts and a conflictual present'.[797] Therefore, critics of the concept have proposed the somewhat fashionable term of the 'knot of memory' ('noeud de mémoire') as an alternative to the French term *lieu de*

[795] Binner (1980) 207-216.
[796] Zerubavel (2003) 32.
[797] Rothberg (2010) 9.

mémoire, in which the idea of the site of memory originates.[798] Gemistus' 'Graecia' could well be such a 'knotted' or complex site of memory, where diverse pasts converge in an amalgamated whole.

[798] Succinct overview of the criticism in Rothberg (2010) 3-12. Even if this criticism has been formulated for French sites of memory, and for modernity in particular, it is valuable for the concept in general.

Conclusion

Reinventing the Ancient Greeks

Chartarum monimenta aut saxa sepulchri,
    Atria imaginibus aut variata patrum
Quaecunque est saeclis nostrum extendentia nomen
    Non nisi naturae deficientis opus. (...)
Scilicet hoc cuicumque datum est instinctu animali,
    Quaerat ut esse aliquis quomodocunque potest.

Paper monuments, tombstones, vestibules variegated with the images of our ancestors, and anything else that preserves our name for posterity, all these things are the product of a deficient nature. (…) Life instinct urged everyone to try to be someone, somehow.

Manilius Cabacius Rallus, 'Confessio erroris', SB, Ham. 561, f. 35^{v}, vv. 37-40, 45.

Manilius Cabacius Rallus of Sparta – who wrote these lines – presents an exception to everything we have seen in this study. Unlike all his fellow Greeks in the Italian diaspora, he rebelled and refused to be Greek. As he pointed out to Janus Lascaris, his Muse – born in Attica – thundered forth in Latin only out of fear to wither away.[799] And even then, Rallus' poetic voice was always at the verge of vanishing and had to be stirred out of silence by Pontanus, by Mnemosyne, by Apollo, by Felice della Rovere.[800] More than once the poet referred to himself as a 'shade', '*reliquiae meae*', a ghost on a funeral pyre.[801]

[799] *IIL* 56.15-21. I refer to the 1520-edition of Cabacius Rallus' *Iuveniles ingenii lusus* (*IIL* in short) in compliance with the table in Lamers (forthcoming b) (see in the meantime Lamers 2011). On Cabacius Rallus' poetry see Lamers (2012a), Nichols (1997, 1993), Manoussakas (1972), Altamura (1947, 1941 = 1956: 127-145). In addition to a selective edition, Lamers (forthcoming b) offers an exhaustive and critical overview of the available evidence regarding the poet's life as well as an overview and collation of printed and manuscript editions of his work.

[800] *IIL* 6.7.39, 55.

[801] See, for instance, his preface to Giulio de'Medici (future Clement VII) in ll. 35-36 as well as his elegiac letter to Jovianus Pontanus (*IIL* 6.7-8).

His talent, the gifts of his mind, were lost with his fatherland.[802] He evoked an image of himself amid oriental slaves, forced to adopt crude manners and strange ways of speech, his ancestral courage ('patrii animi') and Spartan virtue ('Spartana virtus') lying broken and shattered on the side.[803] Meanwhile, Greece crumbled. The Ottomans erased the noble ancient customs of Greece, her language and her habitual dress. They made her ultimately unrecognisable – until she had become as much the poet's *patria* as she was a hostile country ('hostica tellus').[804]

Cabacius Rallus' vocabulary of barbarism and slavery is out of line with the aspirations and self-representation of his contemporary compatriots in Italy and the generation that preceded theirs. His self-image in fact displays exactly those things cardinal Bessarion had tried to avoid for the Hellenes by means of his Greek library: voicelessness, slavery, and barbarism. In Rallus' own time, it was pope Leo X who embraced the ambition to 'restore the language of the Greeks and Greek studies which

[802] *IIL* 6.5-12: 'Quidue animam uexare semel de pectore missam, | Quid cineres pergis sollicitare meos? | Umbra ego sum similisque mei si quaeris imago | Extructis superest sola relicta rogis. | Nec mihi laudis amor mansurae aut gloria famae, | Omnia cum sensu quae periere meo. | Nec placet ingenium uigilataque munera mentis, | Omnia cum patria quae cecidere mea' [*Why do you [Pontanus] continue troubling my spirit now that it has departed from my breast, why do you continue tormenting my ashes? I am a shade and, if you ask, there is only an image of my former self left at my funeral pyre. Neither appetite for admiration nor lasting glory by fame pleases me. They all died together with my experience. Neither my talent nor the restless gifts of my mind pleases me. They all perished with my fatherland*].

[803] *IIL* 2.49-58: 'Hinc patrii cecidere animi Spartanaque uirtus | Fracta iacet, laus hinc, hinc mihi sordet honos. | Hinc etiam duro studium est placuisse tyranno. | Seruorum hinc uario iungor et ipse gregi: | Nam quos Euphratesque tulit, quos misit Orontes, | Hos comites uitae cogor habere meae. | Conferimur conorque rudes effingere mores | Sat bene nec solitus comprimit ora pudor | Iamque malo spreuit natura imbuta decorum, | Iam studia in mores longa abiere nouos' *[Here my ancestral courage lies and here my Spartan virtue lies down broken. Here my praise, my honour deteriorate. Here I labour to please even a harsh tyrant, here I, too, am joined with a diverse band of slaves as I am forced to spend my life in the company of men whom the Euphrates brought hither and the Orontes sent. We are joined, I am forced to adapt to crude customs with fair effect, and an unwonted shame silences me. Nature, imbued with evil, already scorned propriety, unremitting study already dissolves into new customs].* In verse 56, the negative conjunction 'nec' is ambiguous as the negative may apply either to the principal verb (here 'comprimit') or to some other word in the coordinate clause (here 'solitus'). In this case, I decided the matter in favour of the latter option. It is in line with the poetic inertia which Cabacius Rallus voices elsewhere and which is caused by the poet's exile and loss of his fatherland. For similar constructions with 'nec solitus' in poetry see Prop. 2.3.6 and Stat. *Theb.* 8.31.

[804] *IIL* 6.39-52.

[were] in a state of decline and near obliteration'.[805] Very much in Bessarion's spirit, the pope had established a school for Greek boys for this purpose about seven years before Rallus published his poems. Knowing that Rallus was a *familiaris* of Leo X, his self-representation as the very opposite of a successful Greek is highly notable. It entails a subtle criticism of the philhellenic tradition that was the backbone of post-Byzantine Hellenism in Italy. More specifically, his self-representation as a failed Greek in the heart of European Hellenism challenged the politics of cultural conservation and revival that inspired the Greek Academy of Leo X. Without a free 'Graecia', Rallus suggests, original Hellenism has in the end no chance to survive.[806]

But it did. It led some modern scholars to cite the Byzantines in Italy to make claims about Hellenic continuity and Greek national consciousness. Others on the contrary argued that humanist cosmopolitanism eclipsed Greek patriotism in the minds and hearts of the Byzantine expatriates, or that humanist rhetoric impeded the unrestricted expression of patriotic sentiment. A closer scrutiny of the sources suggested a more complex picture. Still, it leaves room for some more general concluding considerations, organised in three pairs of contrasting terms that run through the previous chapters: disownment versus appropriation, sameness versus distinctiveness, and unity versus diversity. Under the heading of these contrasting pairs, these final pages resume and address the two issues raised on the very first page of this study, namely how and why the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy identified with the ancient Hellenes. By relating these outcomes to the scholarly contexts in which Byzantine scholars have traditionally been studied, they also briefly explain how this study bears upon our understanding of the relationship between Italian humanism and Greek patriotism, the Byzantines' role in the humanist movement, and the common ways of thinking about 'Greek identity' in the interval between the decline and fall of Byzantium and the emergence of the nation state Hellas.

[805] The letter of pope Leo X was written by Petrus Bembus (see Saladin 2000a: 10 with n. 15). On the Academy on the Quirinal see Pagliaroli (2004), Saladin (2000a) 101-122 and Saladin (2000b), Tsirpanlis (1983), Manoussakas (1963), Fanelli (1961). Please note that the book of Saladin cannot be read without the comments and corrections in Pontani's review (Pontani 2002).
[806] On the ideological aspects of Rallus' self-representation see Lamers (2012a).

Disownment and appropriation: Romans becoming Greeks

Ancient Greece had always been one of the places to which Byzantines could return for comfort, answers, or models for the future, apart from Rome and Scripture.[807] In the fifteenth century, for various reasons, the ancient Greek past became more prominent than it had ever been before in the Byzantine tradition. Eventually, it even eclipsed the Roman past. Especially in the Italian diaspora, Latin humanism gave the final push for the Byzantine intelligentsia in exile to embrace the Greek rubric fully and to exploit its self-representational possibilities to the fullest. The impression of continuity with ancient Greece was crucial for this. The previous chapters showed different ways in which Byzantine intellectuals managed to establish this impression. Their sense of belonging to ancient Greece, however, conflicted with the rupture which they equally experienced. The most important origins of rupture with the ancient Hellenes which they themselves noted were the impact of Roman culture on indigenous Hellenic traditions in the remote past, and especially the impact of the fall of Constantinople in their own time. They understood the impact of Roman civilisation in terms of cultural and linguistic alienation from what they perceived as original and native (see chapter 2, pp. 65-69). On the other hand, they saw the fall of their capital not only as the ruination of their fatherland, but also of the ancient Greek tradition and what it constituted: European civilisation at large (see, e.g., chapter 3, pp. 118-119).

The Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy bridged the gap with the ancient Hellenes by creating various forms of what Eviatar Zerubavel has called 'quasi-contiguity' with the ancient Greek past. They had various strategies at their disposal. First of all, they appropriated the ancient Greek past via the language they used (if they wrote in Greek) as well as via the names they applied to themselves. The fact that they called themselves Greeks was in itself a means of bridging the gap with the ancient Hellenes, especially in Greek, where the word "Ἕλληνες' distinguished the ancients from 'Γραικοί' and "Ρωμαῖοι' (see chapter 2, pp. 65-67). Yet their Hellenism was hardly a matter of linguistic usage or naming practice only. In this, it differed from the Hellenism of the majority of Byzantine intellectuals before the fifteenth century (see chapter 1, pp. 35-37). In the footsteps of Gemistos Plethon and also Laonikos Chalkokondyles the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy made and completed the shift from Hellenism towards Greekness, or from the literary and rhetorical imitation of ancient Greek literature to the ethno-cultural identification with the ancient Hellenes as a people.

[807] Cf. Kaldellis (2007) 317.

The most explicit strategies to secure their connection with ancient Greece were ethnic anchoring (which rooted them in the remote past) as well as their claim to cultural preservation and imitation (which secured a sense of sameness over time). Sometimes they made explicit a relation of ethnic kinship that created the impression of historical continuity with the ancient past (as did, e.g., cardinal Bessarion, discussed in chapter 3, pp. 99-105); sometimes they suggested such a relation by using the vocabulary of familial relations and kinship (as did, e.g., Nicolaus Secundinus in his letter to Andronicus Callistus, discussed in chapter 2, pp. 77-78). Cultural preservation was not only dependent upon the imitation of the language of the ancient Greeks, but also upon the imitation of supposedly ancient ideals such as Hellenic freedom (as in the case of cardinal Bessarion), or the guardianship of 'Aristotelian' orthodoxy (as in the case of George Trapezuntius).

Although they did not write full-blown histories of the Greeks, the Byzantine expatriates did construct smaller narratives of Greek history in which they could position themselves and their fellow Greeks. Such small and *ad hoc* narratives helped them to connect themselves in the present with their Hellenic ancestors in the past. Cardinal Bessarion, for example, reduced the script of Greek history to a continuous battle against slavery and barbarism and the maintenance of various but especially spiritual forms of 'ἐλευθερία'. As we have seen in chapter 3, this was not only an occasional encomiastic theme in his *Encomium to Trebizond*. The motif of Hellenic freedom resurfaced in other works and, more importantly, gave ideological substance to his endeavours to maintain not only the physical and political, but also spiritual freedom of the Greek people. His view on the Greek past as a continuous battle for freedom also enabled him to define his own role in the Greek tradition. He himself did not simply represent, but rather *embodied* the ancient Greek past by his claim to imitate and replicate it.

From very different perspectives, George Trapezuntius and Janus Lascaris also constructed scripts of the ancient Greek past that pasted past and present together and in which they could position themselves. While Janus Lascaris moulded his view on Greek history on the ancient theme of Greek colonisation-annex-domestication of the world, Trapezuntius held more idiosyncratic views on the role of the Greeks – and of himself – in history (see chapters 4 and 5). All these representations of the Greek past were *ad hoc* in the sense that they were the product of the specific contexts in which they were constructed. Janus Lascaris' focus on the dissemination of Greek civilisation underpinned his argument that the Italians should help out those who taught them. It

also tacitly provided a suitable background for his own activities for it placed his own position as an expatriate professor of Greek in a respectable Greek tradition. By framing the Plato-Aristotle controversy as a cosmic struggle between good and bad, Trapezuntius created a basic contrast between Platonic-pagan and Aristotelian-Christian Greece that coloured his perspective on the place of the Greeks and himself in world history.

We must not take the post-Byzantines' claims to antiquity literally. Bessarion, for example, did not so much 'imitate' a pre-existing notion of Athenian 'ἐλευθερία', but infused an old world with new meanings. Similarly, in their representations of the ancient Greek past, the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy could combine or lump together elements of the Greek tradition that had previously been unrelated. This is particularly clear in Johannes Gemistus' pioneering representation of 'Graecia'. In his poem to Leo X, he suggested that there had existed a country called 'Graecia' in the past that was directly related to the country he lost in 1453 and wanted to restore. To give substance to his lost fatherland, Johannes Gemistus lumped together events and figures from the ancient Greek past and tied these to a specific territory he labelled 'Graecia'. In his representation, the Calydonian hunters and the Argonauts would come to save the Hagia Sophia together with Themistocles and Pericles – a curious conjunction of pasts which makes Gemistus' representation of 'Graecia' a particularly complex site of memory, fusing the ancient Greek past with the Byzantine present as if they formed an unbroken chain (on which see chapter 6).

The Byzantines in Italy did not theorise in any depth about the historical relationship between themselves, the Hellenes and the Romans, a problem that would eventually only be solved in nineteenth-century Greek historiography. They occasionally represented the Romans as a foreign occupier (Theodore Gaza in chapter 2, pp. 66-67), a foreign but good-natured people whose rule the Hellenes had always volunteered to support (Bessarion in chapter 3, pp. 103-104), or as an originally Greek and therefore consanguineous *genus* (Janus Lascaris in chapter 5, pp. 171-176). Instead of really identifying with the Romans, it seems that they saw those whom we now call Byzantines as Hellenes who (had) guarded the *imperium Romanum* and had even adopted Roman features, especially in their language and institutions. The idea that their *Greek* instead of *Roman* ancestors had held the Roman empire was, from a traditional Byzantine perspective, a fundamentally western point of view, even though in the West the Roman legacy of the Greeks in the East was disputed. Unlike Manuel Chrysoloras they did not maintain that they were Greco-Romans, but rather denied that

they were Romans at all. Although beyond the scope of this study, it is notable that at least in the texts discussed here, non-Christian antiquity outweighed Christian Hellas. Although the Byzantine intelligentsia surely saw the Greek Church Fathers as part of 'their' literature, in their representations of ancient Greece they did generally not emphasise Christian elements. Nor did they claim specifically Christian symbols for themselves except for the Church of Hagia Sophia, as in Johannes Gemistus' poem, or the three Theologians, as did Janus Lascaris in his speech for Charles V.

Apparently, then, the Byzantines in Italy had recognised that the real Romans lived in the West. Also, they realised that to be Greek had certain advantages, especially in Italy, where interest in Greek language and literature flourished. The identification with the ancient Greek past naturally enabled the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy to retain something of their self-esteem now that they had lost their empire. Stressing ethnic links with the ancient Hellenes and emphasising cultural preservation equally served to maintain the coherence of the group in times when it found itself threatened by political fragmentation and cultural assimilation. Already before 1453 the Greeks had been divided over various Italian, Ottoman and even different 'Byzantine' domains, while the fear of cultural assimilation was particularly strong after 1453. It resonates, for instance, in the poetry of Manilius Rallus invoked above. Even so, to properly understand their rejection of Roman Byzantium we must not see their self-representation as Hellenes in Italy outside the context of what Richard Jenkins called the 'external moment' of identification, i.e. the way the dominant Italian target-audience identified and evaluated the Byzantines (see the Introduction, p. 17-18). The Latins welcomed the Byzantines in Italy as Greeks and not as Romans. From the ninth century onwards, westerners had called the Byzantines Greeks, long before they themselves eventually embraced the label in the fifteenth century (see esp. chapter 2, pp. 57-65). Therefore, while Byzantine Greekness was a radical innovation in Byzantium, it was the normal way to frame the Byzantines in the West. The application of the Greek rubric to the Romans of the East had originally been a means to deny the Byzantines' claim to Roman authority. But from the end of the fourteenth century onwards, Italian humanists began to see the Byzantine *Graeci* also in more positive terms, namely as the representatives of ancient Greek language and literature from whom they wanted to learn. This enabled Byzantines to exploit to their own advantage the Greek rubric assigned to them in the West.

Sameness and distinctiveness: Latin humanism as a motor for Greek patriotism

As Italian humanists began to see Byzantines as the representatives of Greek learning, this as it were *forced* the Byzantine intelligentsia to present themselves in those terms. To refuse the Greek rubric assigned to them would have meant to refuse the Italian means of social categorisation. This would have disrupted relations between Byzantines and Italians. Probably the Byzantine intelligentsia realised that the Greekness imposed upon them gave them a huge advantage over, for instance, German and French humanists who claimed ancient Germanic, Trojan or even remote Greek roots, but could not lay claim to the Greek legacy in the same way the Byzantines could. Even so, just as Italian humanists catalysed the patriotism of French and German humanists by stressing their inferiority as non-Italians,[808] they also fuelled the Greek patriotism of the Byzantine scholars in a more negative way. Although they did not generally call the Byzantines *barbari* as they called the peoples of the North, they did stereotype and stigmatise them as *Greeks* just as the Romans had done (see chapter 2, pp. 86-93). The *lotte* or battles between Byzantine Greeks and Italian humanists particularly illustrate that Italian humanists caused Byzantine scholars to defend their Greek in-group against out-group stereotyping. So, for example, when Agaso ridiculed George Trapezuntius because he was a Greek, the Cretan scholar defended Greece out of patriotic *pietas* (see on this affair chapter 2, pp. 88-92 and chapter 4, pp. 139-140). Just as French and later German humanists, the Byzantines had to defend their claims to the cultural precedence of their in-group vis-à-vis Italian cultural hegemony. Therefore, the Byzantines' confrontation with Latin humanists empowered rather than reduced their awareness of the ancient Greek past and so fuelled their Greek patriotism.

Although they accepted the rubric ('Graeci') and role (representing Greek learning) which Italian humanists had assigned to them, this is not to say that the Byzantine scholars of the Italian diaspora simply parroted Latin views on what it meant to be Greek, or that their Greekness was merely a strategy to win the benevolence of their Latin audience. Instead, they manipulated the Greek rubric assigned to them to their own advantage and benefit. This appears from the fact that they used the connection with the ancient Greeks to gain cultural superiority, to formulate their claims of cultural debt, and their tendency to 'Hellenise' the Latins.

Even in their state of political and military disarmament, their privileged kinship with the ancient Hellenes provoked a strong sense of cultural superiority in the Byzantines.

[808] Hirschi (2012) 142-156.

While they were wholly dependent upon western support, they could boast an impressive parade of renowned heroes among their ancestors. This enabled them to maintain a kind of collective honour when their political and diplomatic status was lower than ever. The combination of a diplomatically low but culturally high status probably triggered the Byzantines to exploit and emphasise their cultural efforts also in diplomatic contexts.[809] So, they found that non-Greeks were indebted to the ancient Greeks for their achievements in the most important domains of human civilisation. As they saw themselves as heirs of the ancient Greeks, they claimed a *remuneratio* (compensation) for their ancestors' achievements. Although Chalcondylas referred to a recompense for Greek military support in the Gothic Wars, the post-Byzantines mostly claimed compensation for the cultural achievements of the ancient Hellenes. The claim of cultural debt had already been implied by cardinal Bessarion in his memorandum to Constantine Palaeologus (see chapter 3, pp. 108-109). As we have seen, Janus Lascaris worked out the various political possibilities of this claim, first in a cultural setting in his *Florentine Oration*, and later in a more properly diplomatic setting in his speech for Charles V (see chapter 5 and chapter 3, pp. 120-122).

Obviously, their notion of cultural superiority sat uneasily with competing Latin claims to cultural precedence as classically formulated by Laurentius Valla (see chapter 2, p. 58). Although they did not respond directly to Latin claims to Roman superiority, the Byzantine scholars in Italy did point out to their Italian audience that the ancient Greeks had spread their language and civilisation all over the world *before* the Romans, and that the Romans had themselves recognised this. The ancient Greco-Roman past conveniently erased the memories of the more recent past in which their relations with the Latin West had been much more troubled and even openly hostile, as Manuel Chrysoloras and Manuel Kalekas realised very early (chapter 5, p. 163).

But apart from reminding the Latins of Roman philhellenism, the classical tradition also provided clues to present the Greeks and Latins as a related people not only culturally, but also ethnically. If the Latins had Greek roots, the Byzantines could appeal to the notion of *consanguinitas* to demand for support. This argument entails a strategical problem. The Latins must be made Greek enough to give substance to the argument of *consanguinitas*, but at the same time they must be sufficiently different to maintain Greek distinctiveness and, what is more, superiority.

[809] As Hirschi (2012) 98-101 explains, two eminent measuring sticks of national honour in fifteenth-century Europe were precisely 'internationally certified' heroes and achievements as well as diplomatic precedence.

This tension between intergroup differentiation and assimilation appeared most clearly in the *Florentine Oration* of Janus Lascaris, discussed in chapter 5. In the speech, Lascaris assimilated the Latin out-group to his Greek in-group in terms of their ethnic relations, their shared past and common cultural features. On the other hand, he maintained the boundaries between in- and out-group as he stressed the linguistic and cultural degeneration of the out-group; the Latin language had degenerated from Greek due to the vicinity of the barbarians, while in the domain of Latin literature imitation of Greek examples gave way to mere derivation and translation. Despite their ancient ethnic and cultural relations, then, this degeneration of Latin culture made the in- and out-groups sufficiently different to maintain the positive distinctiveness of the authors' in-group. Janus Lascaris thus harnessed the Latins' admiration for Greek culture and their attempt to appropriate it to the best advantage of the Greeks. In this context, it is notable that the common ground which he found in the ancient past for themselves and the Italians was a *common Greek* and not a really *shared Greco-Roman* common ground as it had been for Manuel Chrysoloras. Constantine Lascaris, for instance, emphasised that everything praiseworthy about Calabria and Sicily was quintessentially *Greek*. Johannes Gemistus also *Hellenised* the inhabitants of Marseilles and the mysterious Iberian 'Gravii'. In his *Florentine Oration*, finally, Janus Lascaris reduced all the successes of Romans and Latins to the successful imitation of Greek examples and ancestors.

What do the Byzantines' various appropriations of the classical tradition as well as their intense identification with the ancient Greeks tell us about their place in the humanist movement? In *Creating East and West*, Nancy Bisaha showed that the Byzantines' approach to the Ottoman Turks indicates their role in the humanist movement, 'specifically their skilfull manipulation of the deepest concerns of their Latin audience'.[810] Their self-representation and usage of the Greek past demonstrates something very similar. It shows them as skilled participants in Latin humanism and at the same time adds to their one-sided image as cultural transmitters.[811] It actually complicates the common way of looking at the textual transmission from Byzantium to Italy. In this sense, it confirms the general idea that cultural transmission is not a simple, one-directional process like 'high-fidelity broadcasting of classical music'.[812] Although

[810] Bisaha (2004) 117.

[811] See also the Introduction, pp. 12-13. Karamanolis (2003) was the first to criticise the fact that Byzantine scholars have too often been denied the role of full participants in the humanist movement (see the Introduction, p. 12 with n. 42).

[812] Grafton in Grafton & Blair (1990) 2.

this might sound commonplace at first sight after decades of cultural theory, even a sophisticated modern critic of modern cultural imperialism observed that, in the Renaissance,

> 'the Greek classics served the Italian, French, and English humanists without the troublesome interposition of actual Greeks. Texts by dead people were read, appreciated, and appropriated by people who imagined an ideal commonwealth. This is one reason that scholars rarely speak suspiciously or disparagingly of the Renaissance.'[813]

The early modern situation is then contrasted with what, according to this author, usually happens in the modern era, where 'thinking about cultural exchange involves thinking about domination and forcible appropriation'.[814] Yet the previous exploration of post-Byzantine self-representation in the Italian diaspora showed some 'troublesome Greeks' at work. Although they did not have much choice other than to embrace the Greek rubric which the Italians assigned to them, they interposed themselves in the process of cultural transmission as the most rightful heirs of the 'dead people' whose texts they claimed as theirs. In this context, the humanist appropriation of the Greek legacy appears far less uncomplicated – if not to say less innocent – than the pictures painted in books as diverse as *Scribes and Scholars* and *Culture and Imperialism*.[815] But even though at least some modern Greeks experience the classical heritage of Greece as a burden, imposed by European philhellenism,[816] it seems that the Byzantine scholars in Italy wholeheartedly embraced the legacy of ancient Greece.

Unity and diversity: 'Greek identity' and the multiplicity of Greekness

As we have seen, the Byzantine expatriates in Italy all identified with the ancient Hellenes and called themselves Hellenes or Greeks. Yet this uniformity in their self-identification must not conceal the fact that they represented their Greekness often in very different ways. To speak of 'Greek identity' in this context would presuppose a

[813] Said (1994) 235.
[814] Said (1994) 235.
[815] Reynolds & Wilson (1974) 108-146, Said (1994) 234-235.
[816] The contemporary critic Nikos Dimou, for example, wrote that 'if any Western import has harmed Greece, it's been neither rationalism, nor the political system, nor technology. It's been the idea of the continuity of Hellenic civilization. Oddly, this idea, which today is waved about like a banner by anti-Westerners, is an entirely Western notion' (Dimou 1998). For a historical account of the transition from western to 'indigenous' Hellenism see esp. Hamilakis (2007) 57-123.

uniformity of vision the sources do not corroborate. If we look closely at the evidence, moreover, we see that there was not one single coherent discourse about Greekness, even though ancient Greece was invariably important. For example, it is very difficult to establish the decisive criteria for Greekness in the first place. We have seen that shared language, education, birthplace and sometimes group character all played their role, but the application of such criteria was highly dependent upon context. This explains that even an Italian could be called a 'Hellene' by virtue of his knowledge of ancient Greek in one context, whereas he was seen as a member of the Latin out-group due to his Latin or Roman ancestry in another.

Also in other respects, the multiplicity of viewpoints is the norm. While, for instance, for Johannes Gemistus territoriality constituted Hellenism, Constantine Lascaris principally dissociated the Greek tradition from its traditional heartland of Greece. While Plethon saw a revival of Spartanism as a solution to further disintegration, his former student Bessarion emphasised the Athenian elements in the Greek tradition. Marcus Musurus saw Plato as one of the protagonists of the Greek people, whereas Trapezuntius imagined him plotting the downfall of the West together with Mohammed. While Bessarion and Janus Lascaris believed that the Hellenes would survive through the preservation of Greek literature, the exile poetry of Cabacius Rallus suggested that the survival of Hellenism was impossible without a free Greece. And so forth and so on.[817]

An explanation for the multiple representations of Greekness is that the post-Byzantines in Italy shaped their views on Greekness in all kinds of different contexts with various purposes that the case studies tried to reconstruct. To recall Erving Goffman's metaphor to explain his notion of self-presentation (see the Introduction, p. 17-18), there was not one single stage on which a well-orchestrated choir of Byzantines wore their pre-fabricated Greek masks, but a multiplicity of stages that forced individual Byzantines to rethink their ways of performance and the use of their attributes. There were moreover no controlling institutions that could have engendered a coherent ideology of Greekness, there was no large-scale propaganda that sustained it, and even

[817] In the light of this wide variety of sometimes diverging viewpoints, it is at first sight remarkable that there was no general discussion about what it meant to be Greek among the Byzantines in Italy. The Byzantine intelligentsia presented themselves as Greeks in various ways, but did not enter into dialogue about the implications for their common understanding of what it meant to be Greek. One reason might well be that they avoided such debates because they did not want to become divided about their Greekness as this was the only thing that properly bound them together.

before 1453 there had not been a state or polity promoting forms of national Hellenism.[818] Therefore, the Hellenic self-representations under study do hardly represent a coherent view on what we would perhaps now call a 'national Greek identity'.

Yet despite the different views on Greekness, the Byzantines' self-representation in Italy, their appropriation of ancient Greece and their identification with the ancient Hellenes, bear upon the heated debate over the emergence of a sense of Greek national consciousness in the interval period between the decline of Byzantium and the rise of the nation state Hellas. It has been one of the aims of this study to redress but not to rewrite the relation between the Byzantine diaspora and the evolution of Greekness after Byzantium. In some respects, the self-representation of the Byzantine scholars in Italy prefigures the self-representation of the Greek intelligentsia that appeared on the European scene in the age of nationalism. This is especially so where it concerns the reinvention of the ancient Hellenes as precursors and ancestors of the Greeks. Yet this fact has generally been overlooked by modernist accounts of 'the making of modern Greece', while nationalist stories of 'the emergence of the Greek nation' often overstress it. The previous chapters challenge both views.

As modernist accounts narrow down their scope to modernity, the early modern period falls outside their scope. The fact that the Greek War of Independence and the new Greek state found their ideological basis in ancient Greece is not to say that the 'Hellenising of the *Romaioi*' is the prerogative of the emergent Greek intelligentsia of the 1790s.[819] Yet in current accounts of the history of the national Greek idea the reinvention of the ancient Greeks has been considered to be the 'distinctive contribution of the Romantic movement', going back to the 1790s. The same has been said about the conjunct notions that the inhabitants of Hellas descended from the ancient Hellenes and that the liberation of Greece was not the creation of something new but the restoration of an ancient status quo.[820] The previous chapters showed that the Byzantine

[818] As Kaldellis (2007) 389 points out, Hellenism (to the degree that it was not understood as paganism) generated the fewest institutions if compared to the Roman and Christian traditions in Byzantium.

[819] Cf. Politis (1998) 1, 8.

[820] Beaton & Ricks (2009) 3. Cf. Beaton & Ricks (2009) 7, where it is emphasised that the notable importance of the idea of national restoration is in the success of the Greeks in establishing, from the 1820s onwards, a link with antiquity 'as first and foremost among the grounds for the legitimacy of the modern nation state'.

scholars of the Italian diaspora used the same strategies to legitimise their privileged link with the ancient Greeks.

As a consequence, their case reminds us that strategies like those mentioned emerged long before the political and cultural ideology of nationalism began to crystallise. Although this study did not aim at rewriting the history of Greek national identity or national thought, it does confirm the increasingly accepted view that symbolical constructions we now construe as specifically 'national' have a history that predates the era in which nationalist ideologists began to re-appropriate them and adapted them to their needs. As such, the reinvention of the ancient Greeks by the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy points at the importance of studying the archaeology of national symbols and images to understand, historically, the particular symbolical force and cultural significance of modern nationalism.[821] At the same time, however, it is important to stress that the case of the Byzantine intelligentsia cannot be adduced to demonstrate the existence of Greek national continuity in the fifteenth century. Such a view obscures something very important. As national accounts understand the role of the expatriate scholars as part of a teleological evolution towards Greek liberation, they cast a shadow over the specificities of the Byzantines' historical position, concerns and challenges, and often impose nationalist views and attitudes on fifteenth-century minds. However, late- and post-Byzantine appropriations of the ancient Greek past emerged from cultural and historical contexts that were very different from the circumstances in which modern and contemporary Greeks appropriate the ancient past of Greece. A comparative exploration of the various contexts in which ancient Greece was appropriated in different periods would certainly contribute to a more differentiated understanding of what is often lumped together under the monolithic notion of 'Greek identity'.[822] Such an approach emphasises changes in contexts and functions of what are

[821] This is argued with particular force by Anthony D. Smith in his recent criticism of modernist approaches to national symbolism. See, most recently, Smith (2009).

[822] Useful conceptual and methodological cues for further research along these lines can be found in Beaton (2007), comparing evidence from the early nineteenth and mid-twelfth centuries in order to shed new light on the question of Hellenic continuity and national identity. For a similar but less text-oriented approach see Magdalino (1991). Not only cultural and historical circumstances of self-representation differed, but also the objects of appropriation were different in the early modern and modern periods. While, for example, modern Greeks claim ancient works of art and architecture (Hamilakis 2007), the Byzantine intelligentsia in Renaissance Italy asserted their cultural ownership of Greek language and literature more than anything else.

only vestiges or monuments of the ancient past from a narrowly national perspective.[823] As the previous chapters have shown, the reinvention of the ancient Greeks in the Italian diaspora was a conscious revival rather than a clear mark of manifest continuity with the ancient past. If we want to see continuity after all, we may find it in the constant reinvention and reappropriation of the ancient Greeks which in itself testifies to the vitality and significance of the Greek tradition.

[823] Cf. Alexiou (2002) 9-16.

Appendices

1. Etymology in Janus Lascaris' Florentine Oration *(chapter 5)*

It is obviously beyond the scope of this thesis to delve in detail into Lascaris' etymological thought and its significance.[824] In order to give an impression of the rules underlying his etymology, however, it is useful to give a concise outline of the etymological principles he used to explain relations between Latin and Greek words. Below is a schematic overview of the etymological principles Lascaris used together with the examples he cited for illustration. Due to the scant availability of medieval etymological data in both Latin and Greek, it is difficult to establish the precise sources of the individual etymologies mentioned by Lascaris. The list below provides possible sources and alternatives for the individual etymologies mentioned by Lascaris.[825]

According to Lascaris' account, Latin words can be derived directly from the Greek without significant changes (examples 1-10 in the list below under Roman number I). Some underwent small mutations such as changes in accentuation 'according to the rules of grammar' (II, 11-13), a transformation of a spiritus asper into a consonant (III, 14-15), or a transmutation of one vowel into another, i.e. 'κατὰ παραγραμματισμόν'. The latter term is only found in Byzantine literature and Lascaris probably took it from Eustathius or Tzetzes (IV, 16-22),[826] though it was also used by other Byzantine authors.[827] Although Byzantine paragrammatism has been understood as a rhetorical or literary device,[828] Eustathius used it as a means to explain barbarisms in Greek.[829]

Other small changes resulted from adapting the endings of Greek words to the rules of Latin grammar (V, 22-28). Similarly, some words changed their ending from 'ης' in 'a' (VI, 29-30), and 'ηρ' in 'er' (VII, 31-32) Arguably, VI and VII are subcategories of V, but

[824] Meschini (1983) 78-80 and Tavoni (1986) 118-119 pay attention to Lascaris' use of etymology, but they do not provide a summary of his techniques. I intend to elaborate elsewhere in more detail on the provenance of Lascaris' techniques and their historical significance.

[825] These were largely taken from Maltby (1991).

[826] Eust. *D.P.* 142, 175, 828; *Od.* 14.379; *Il.* 9.38; Tz. *H.* 8.169.113-121, 10.319.227-242, 11.392.866-871; *Comm. in Aristoph.* 428a. Cf. the more selective *apparatus fontium* in Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 100 l. 279 without reference to Tzetzes.

[827] So, for instance, Aelius Herodianus in his *De prosodia catholica* explains 'Τύανα' as variant of 'Θόανα' by means of paragrammatism (see Hdn. Gr. 3:383 l. 10-12). Cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Τύανα' and the *Suda s.v.* 'παραγραμματισμός'.

[828] Hunger (1991) 2, 5.

[829] Eust. *Il.* 9.38 and *D.P.* 142.

Lascaris mentioned them separately. Other words again resulted from subtle phonological mutations: from consonant or liquid into (another) liquid (IX, 34-36), from aspirated to voiced stop (media littera) (X, 37), and from unvoiced (tenuis littera) to voiced stop (media littera) 'through etymology' (XI, 38-39). In addition, Latin verbs can be derived from Greek nomina or Latin nomina from Greek verbs (XIV, examples 42-43).

Apart from the above-mentioned fairly straightforward procedures of derivation, Lascaris also mentioned some less regular ones. One of them is the derivation of a Latin word from a Greek one through the combination of a Latin and a Greek element (XIII, 41). Another one is the derivation of a Latin word by 'etymology through crasis' (VIII, 33).[830] In the latter case, the relation between Greek original and Latin derivation is understood via the semantic association of a Greek phrase and an individual Latin word (here 'μὴ ὅλος' = 'non integer' = 'malus') and the merging of the Greek phrase into one word by contraction of their end- and begin-vowels, known as *crasis* (with 'μὴ ὅλος' resulting in 'malus' via a hypothetical *'μῆλος'). The changed phonetic quality of the first syllable (μη- > *ma-*) can be explained away on the basis of paragrammatism (IV), or through some indeterminate variation (XII, 40).

A final principle mentioned by Lascaris is 'ἀναγραμματισμός', probably derived from Byzantine commentaries, as was the mutation of vowels via paragrammatism (IV, 44-53). Lascaris cryptically defined anagrammatism as 'the transposition of letters through which both etymologies ('ἐτυμολογίαι') become known, and things are revealed to have resemblances to the same letters'.[831] In order to explain what he meant, Lascaris extracted six examples of anagrammatism from Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*.[832] In short, anagrammatism reveals the relationship of two words on the basis of the joint observations that (1) the derivation is an anagram of the original ('ἀρετή', virtue < 'ἐρατή', desire), and that (2) the derivation can be linked to the original via semantic association ('ἀρετή', virtue derives from 'ἐρατή', desire 'quod virtus desyderatur', 'as

[830] Although Lascaris used the Greek term 'ἐτυμολογίαν κατὰ κρᾶσιν', I have as yet not been able to trace the origin of this technique.

[831] Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 102 ll. 322-324: 'Est autem ἀναγραμματισμός litterarum transpositio, per quam et ἐτυθμολογίαι cognoscuntur et res habentes similitudinem habentes eisdem litteris proferentur'.

[832] Lascaris, ed. Meschini (1983) 102 ll. 224-227 with Eust. *Il.* 1.55. Cf. Eust. *Il.* 1.25, 8.83-84, 9.539, 13.829; *Od.* 8.185. See also Artemidorus' comment on anagrammatism in his *Onirocriticon* (Artem. 4.23).

virtue is desired'). In this way, the etymology or true origin of the word is shown as well as its relation to reality.

Lascaris applied the technique of anagrammatism cross-linguistically. He claimed, for example, that through anagrammatism 'or in a similar manner' 'frustrum' resulted from 'τρύφος'. He assumed a relationship of synonymity between 'τρύφος' (fragment) and 'frustum' (a piece) in combination with an anagrammatic transposition of letters with subsequent adaptation to the conventions of Latin morphology (so that 'τρύφος' resulted via the hypothetical intermediaries *'φρυστο' and *'frusto' in 'frustum'). This is also the case for, e.g., the derivation of 'pulcher' from 'πολύχρους' ('πολύχρους' resulting via *'πουλχρους' and *'pulchrus' in 'pulcher'). The underlying procedure is less clear in instances such as 'madidus' < 'μυδαλέος', and Lascaris is generally silent on how he sees the precise development from Greek originals to their Latin derivations, leaving it to the linguistic imagination of his audience.

I. dictio Graeca prolata (Latin words roughly pronounced as in Greek)

examples	1. lyra < λύρα	Isid. *Etym.* 3.22.8 ('ἀπὸ τοῦ ληρεῖν')
	2. palaestra < παλαίστρα	Serv. *Auct.* 8.138; 8.24 ('ἀπὸ τῆς πάλης, ἀπὸ τῆς πάλλειν'), *Georg.* 2.531.
	3. Musa < Μοῦσα	Prisc. *Inst.* 2.27.21 ('ponitur u … loco ου diphthongi, ut Musa pro Μοῦσα', 44.17); Cassiod. *Inst.* 2.5.1 ('apo tu maso'), Var. 4.51.8 ('homousoe')
	4. philosophia < φιλοσοφία	Cic. *Leg.* 1.58 ('sapientia cuius amore Graeco verbo philosophia nomen invenit'); Sen. *Epist.* 89.4; Lactant. *Div. inst.* 3.2.3; Isid. *Etym.* 2.24.3
	5. astrologia < ἀστρολογία	
	6. theologia < θεολογία	
	7. nympha < νύμφα	Serv. *Aen.* 8.336 ('graece sponsa νύμφα dicitur')
	8. fama < φάμα	Varro *L.* 6.55 ('a fari'); Prisc. *Inst.* 2.11.21 ('φ cuius locum apud nos f obtinet', 19.9)
	9. coma < κόμα	Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 63 ('κοσμεῖν dicitur comere … et comae dicuntur capilli cum aliqua cura compositi'); Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.30 ('caimos')
	10. mala < μᾶλα	Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.44 ('vocatae malae … sive quod infra oculos prominent in rotunditatem, quam Graeci μῆλα apellant, sive quod sint supra maxillas')

		with Cic. *Orat.* 153 (malae < maxillae)

II. accentuum variatio (the original Greek accent changes in Latin)

examples	11. pharetra < φαρέτρα	Isid. *Etym.* 18.9.1 ('a ferendo iacula dicta')
	12. pyra < πυρά	Isid. *Etym* 20.10.9 ('pyra est quae in modum arae ex lignis construi solet ut ardeat; πῦρ enim ignis dicitur')
	13. lampas < λαμπάς	

III. spiritus in litteram mutatio (the aspiration of the Greek original alters into a sibilant)

examples	14. sus < ὗς	Varro. *L.* 5.96 ('ex quo fructus maior, hic est qui Graecis usus: sus, quod ὗς, bos quod βοῦς')
	15. serpo < ἕρπω	Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 349 (*s.v.* serpula: 'ex Graeco, quia illi ἑρπετά nos pro aspiratione eorum s littera posita')

IV. vocalium in vocales mutatio κατὰ παραγραμματισμόν (vowels alter into other vowels, paragrammatism)

examples	16. nox < νύξ	Varro *L.* 6.6 ('graece νύξ nox') = Charisius *Gramm.* p. 117, 17 B; Prisc. *Inst.* 2.280.3
	17. chorea < χορεία	Prisc. *Inst.* 2.24.17 ('χορεία chorea, e paenultima modo correpta modo producta')
	18. fur < φώρ, φέρβω	Gell. 1.18.5 ('antiquiore Graeca lingua φώρ dictum est. hinc per adfinitatem litterarum, qui φώρ Graece, est Latine fur') = Paul. *Dig.* 47.2.1; Serv. *Georg.* 3.407; Prisc. *Inst.* 2.11.21 (*s.v.* fama)
	19. trutina < τρυτάνη	Isid. *Etym.* 10.267 ('trutinator, examinator, ex iudicii libra perpendens recta; translatione a trutina, quae est gemina ponderum lances')
	20. mus < μῦς	Prisc. *Inst.* 2.27.21 ('ponitur u … pro υ longa, ut μῦς mus'); Isid. *Etym.* 12.3.1 ('Graecum illi nomen est'), 12.8.11 ('ex Greaco venit … mus')
	21. domitor < δαμάτωρ	Prisc. *Inst.* 2.506.2 ('a domo … domo domas domat … : unde maris domitor pro dominus et dominator')
	22. duplus < διπλοῦς	

V. dictio ad Latinam terminationem redacta (original Greek endings are replaced by Latin ones, i.e. –ος alters in –us, –ον in –um)

examples	23. nemus < νέμος	Varro *L.* 5.36 ('Graeci νέμη, nostri nemora'); Isid. *Etym.* 17.6.6 ('a numinibus')
	24. antrum < ἄντρον	Ambr. *Hex.* 1.8.32 ('unde antrum … uocarunt, nisi quod atro inhorrescat situ atque offusione tenebrarum?')
	25. nothus < νόθος	Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.97 ('nothum, qui non sit legitimus, Graeci uocant') = Serv. *Aen.* 7.283; Isid. *Etym.* 9.5.23
	26. taurus < ταῦρος	Varro *L.* 5.96 ('ex quo fructus maior, hic est qui Graecis usus: sus, quod ὗς, bos quod βοῦς, taurus quod ταῦρος) = Isid. *Etym.* 12.1.29
	27. polus < πόλος	Varro *L.* 7.14 ('polus Graecum, id significat circum caeli')
	28. ager < ὁ ἀγρός (non quod in eo aliquid agatur)	Varro *L.* 5.34 ('ager dictus in quam terram quid agebant … alii quod id Graeci dicunt ἀγρόν')

VI. –ης in –a mutatio (the Greek ending –ης alters into –a)

examples	29. nauta < ναύτης	Isid. *Etym.* 19.1.5 ('nauta a nave dictus per derivationem')
	30. auleta < αὐλητής	

VII. -ηρ in -er mutatio (the Greek ending -ηρ alters into –er)

examples	31. character < χαρακτήρ	Isid. *Etym.* 20.16.7 ('character est ferrum coloratum quo notae pecudibus inuruntur: χαρακτήρ autem Graece, Latine forma dicitur')
	32. pater < πατήρ	Varro *L.* 5.65; Isid. *Etym.* 9.5.3 ('quod patratione peracta filium concepit')

VIII. per ἐτυμολογίαν κατὰ κρᾶσιν (the Latin word is associatively related to the meaning of two Greek words that are contracted into one)

examples	33. malus < μὴ ὅλος	Isid. *Etym.* 10.176 ('a nigro felle, quod Graeci μέλαν dicunt')

IX. consonantium aut liquidarum in liquidas mutati (consonants or liquids alter into (other) liquids)

examples	34. fera < θήρ, φήρ aeolice	Serv. *Aen.* 1.215 ('feras dicimus aut quod omni corpore feruntur, aut quod naturali utuntur libertate et pro desiderio suo feruntur') = Prisc. *Inst.* 3.71.9; Isid. *Diff.* 1.248, *Etym.* 12.2.2
	35. donum < δῶρον	Varro *L* 5.175 ('dos … Graece δωτίνη … ab eodem donum'); Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 69 ('donum ex Graeco est, quod illi vocant δῶρον')
	36. Phoenix < φοῖνιξ	Plin. *NH* 13.42 ('a φοῖνιξ'); Isid. *Etym.* 12.7.22 ('phoenix Arabiae avis, dicta quod colorem phoeniceum habeat, vel quod sit in toto orbe singulare et unica. nam Arabes singularem phoenicem vocant')

X. aspiratarum in medias mutatio (aspirated consonants alter into voiced consonants)

examples	37. deus < θέος	Varro *L.* 5.66 ('olim Diovis et Diespiter dictus, id est dies pater; a quo dei dicti'); Fest. *Gloss. Lat.* 71 (deus dictus, quod ei nihil desit … sive a Graeco δέος, quod significat metum); Isid. *Etym.* 7.1.5 ('id vocabulum ex Graeco esse dictum, aspiratione dempta, qui mos antiquis nostris frequens erat', cf. Tert. *Ad nat.* 2.4)

XI. tenuium in medias mutatio per ἐτυμολογίαν (the Latin word is associatively related to a Greek word, while an unvoiced letter alters into a voiced letter)

examples	38. bonus < πόνος	Cic. *Parad.* 7 ('maiorum nostrum saepe requiro prudentiam, qui haec inbecilla et commutabilia pecuniae membra verbo bona putaverunt appellanda, cum re ac factis longe aliter iudicavissent'); Ulp. 50.16.49 ('neutraliter bona ex eo dicuntur, quod beant, hoc est beatos faciunt: beare est prodesse'); Isid. *Etym.* 5.25.4 ('bona sunt honestorum seu nobilium, quae proinde bona dicuntur, ut non habeant turpem usum, sed ea homines ad res bonas utantur')

39. donor < δονεῖν

XII. varia et indeterminata mutatio (indeterminate variation)

examples	40. fides < εἶδως	Cic. *Fam.* 6.10.2 ('nostra ad diem dictam fient; docui enim te, fides ἔτυμον quod haberet'), *Rep.* 4.7 ('fides … nomen ipsum mihi videtur habere, cum fit quod dicitur'), *Off.* 1.23 ('audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt, unde verba sint ducta, credamusque quia fiat quod dictum est, appellatam fidem')

XIII. a Graeca et Latina dictione compositum (words are compounded of Greek and Latin elements that are connected after the manner of the synonymous Greek original)

examples	41. Saturnus < saturitas νοῦς (cf. Κρόνος < κόρος νοῦς)	Aug. *Cons. evang.* 1.23.35 ('nomen, quasi ex prima latina parte et graeca posteriore compositum, ut diceretur Saturnus, tanquam satur esset, νοῦς')

XIV. a verbis nomina aut a nominibus verba (Latin nouns are derived from Greek verbs and vice versa)

examples	42. morari, moriones < μωρός, μωραίνω	Aug. *Pecc. mer.* 1.22.32 ('nomen ex graeco derivatum moriones vulgus appellat'); Isid. *Etym.* 10.183 ('morio a morte vocatus, eo quod non vigeat intellectu')
	43. tango < ἅπτω, ἅπτομαι	Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.23 ('tactus, eo quod pertractet et tangat et per omnia membra vigorem sensus aspergat')

XV. per ἀναγραμματισμόν et simili modo (letters are transposed with or without further alterations)

examples	44. frustrum< τρύφος	Isid. *Etym* 20.2.27 ('frustum vocatum quod capiatur a frumine; est enim frumen summa pars gulae')
	45. lac < γάλα	Cassiod. *Ps.* 118.70 l. 1193 A ('lac dictum est a liquore, quod de interna substantia naturali potius liquore decurrat; 'a' enim in 'i' convertitur'); Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.77 ('lac vim nominis a colore trahit, quod sit albus liquor: λευκός enim Graece album dicunt')

46. forma < μορφή	Donat. Ter. *Ph.* 108 ('forma ab igne et calore dicta est')
47. palantes < πλάνητες	
48. madidus < μυδαλέος	Festus *Gloss. Lat.* 126 ('madulsa ebrius, a Graeco μαδᾷν deductum, vel quia madidus satis a vino')
49. parvus < παῦρος	
50. unguis < ὄνυξ	Cf. Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.72 ('ungulas ex Graeco vocamus: illi enim has ὄνυχας dicunt')
51. ahenum < χόανον	Prisc. *Inst.* 3.31.23 ('r … transit … in n: aeneus pro aureus')
52. meus < ἐμός	
53. pulcher < πολύχρος	San. at Scaur. *Gramm.* 7.204 ('santra a Graecis putet esse translatum, quasi polichrum'); Isid. *Etym.* 10.203 ('pulcer ab specie cutis dictus, quod est pellis')

2. Johannes Gemistus' imaginary geography of 'Graecia' (chapter 6)

2.1 Gemistus' gallery of Greek heroes

nr.	name	identification
	Heroes associated with the voyages of the Argonauts and the Calydonian Hunt	
1	Aesonides	Son of Aeson, Iason. Thessalian hero from Iolcus, leader of the Argonauts, participant in the Calydonian Hunt (Apollod. 1.68).
2	Tirynthius heros/puer Alcides	Heracles, the most prominent Panhellenic hero in Greek myth and cult.
3	Telamon	Son of king Aeacus and of Endeis in Aegina, brother of Peleus. Participant in the Calydonian Hunt and in the expedition of the Argonauts (Apollod. 3.158-161).
4	Peleus	Son of Aeacus and Endeis, brother of Telamon (Apollod. 3.106) who also took part in the adventures of the Argonauts (Pind. fr. 172) and in Heracles' march against Troy and the Amazons (Eur. *Andr.* 790-795, Apoll. Rhod. 1.553-558, Apollod. 1.111, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.8).
5	Iphidamas	*Amphidamas*, Argonaut (Apoll. Rhod. 1.161, 2.1046).
6	Canthus	Argonaut (Apoll. Rhod. 1.77, 4.1485-1501, Val. Fl. 6.317-341).
7	Phaleron	*Phalerus*, son of Alcon and one of the Argonauts (Apoll. Rhod. 1.96f., Val. Fl. 4.654).

9	Iphitus	Argonaut (Apoll. Rhod. 1.86). Gemistus probably took the epithet ('Nabolides') from Val. Fl. 1.362-363.
10	Coronus	One of the Argonauts (Apoll. Rhod. 1.57f., Hyg. *Fab.* 14).
11	Iphiclus	Son of Phylacus (or Cephalus) and Clymene, father of Podarces and Protesilaus (Hom. *Il.* 2.704 f., 13.698, *Od.* 11.289-297, 15.225-239; cf. Paus. 4.36.3, Apollod. 1.98-102 from where Gemistus probably got the Melampus story which he worked into his poem).
12	Enniades	?
13	Butes	According to one tradition, an Argonaut (Apoll. Rhod. 1.95ff.).
14	Pretus	*Proetus*, mythical king of Argos (Hom. *Il.* 6.157, Pind. *Nem.* 10.77) or Tiryns (Apollod. 2.25), son of Abas and Aglaea.
15	proles magnanimae Lede	Castor and Pollux.
16	Euridimas	*Eurydamas*, several possibilities emerge. Most probably reference is to one of the Argonauts with this name (Apoll. Rhod. 1.67).
17	Menetus	*Menoetius*, father of Patroclus and Myrto (Apollod. 3.13.8), who took part in the adventures of the Argonauts (Apoll. Rhod. 1.69f., Apollod. 1.9.16), but also features in the Iliad (Hom. *Il.* 11.771, 18.325).
18	Laodocus	Son of Bias and Pero, native of Argos, Argonaut together with his brothers Talaus and Arius (Apoll. Rhod. 1.119, Val. Fl. 1.358).
19	Alaus	*Talaus*, brother of nrs. 18 and 20 (see nr. 18).
20	Areius	*Arius*, brother of nrs. 18 and 19 (see nr. 18).
21	tergemini fratres, generosi proles Abantis	Abas had two sons (Acrisius, Proetus) and one daughter (Idomene), but not three sons (Apollod. 2.24, cf. Paus. 2.16.2, 10.35.1). Cf. nr. 14.
22	Enchion	*Echion*, son of Hermes and Antianeira, and according to the Latin tradition at least both an Argonaut (Val. Fl. 4.734) and a Calydonian hunter (Ov. *Met.* 8.311, 345).
23	Euritus	*Eurytus*, son of Hermes and Antianeira, brother of Echion (nr. 22), and mentioned as the ruler of Oechalia (Hom. *Il.* 2.596, 730).
24	Aethalides	Son of Hermes and Eupolemea, herald during the Argonauts' campaign (Apoll. Rhod. 1.51-55, 640-47).
25	Tiphys	Son of Hagnias (Hagniades) from Siphae, Argonaut and helmsman of the Argo (Apollod. 1.111, Apoll. Rhod. 1.105-110 and 1.401f.; Val. Fl. 1.481-483). Gemistus probably took his description of Tiphys ('Agniades, qui lora carinae | Argoos tenuit sapiens ...') from Val. Fl. 1.481-483.
26	Neptunius heros	Theseus. Cf. nr. 41. Theseus is called 'Neptunius heros' in

		Ov. *Ep.* 4.109, 17.21, *Met.* 9.1, and Stat. *Theb.* 12.588.
27	Zetus (with Calais)	*Zetes and Calais*, wind gods, the winged sons of Boreas and Oreithyia, also Argonauts (Apollod. 1.111, 3.199, Apoll. Rhod. 1.211-223, Ov. *Met.* 6.712-721).
28	Calais (with Zetus)	
29	Amphion	Son of Jason, lived in Orchomenus (Hom. *Od.* 11.281-284).
30	Asterius	*Asterion*, a Thessalian Argonaut = nr. 34.
31	Agneus	*Ancaeus*, Argonaut (Apollod. 1.163f.) and participant in the Calydonian Hunt (Apollod. 1.68, Paus. 8.4.10, Ov. *Met.* 8.315, 391-402).
32	Orpheus	Argonaut (Pind. Pyth. 4.176f., Apoll. Rhod. 1.32-34).
33	Linteus	*Lynceus*, participated in the journeys of the Argonauts (Apoll. Rhod. 1.151) as well as in the Calydonian Hunt (Apollod. 1.67, Ov. *Met.* 8.304) with his brother Idas.
34	Asterius	*Asterion*, a Thessalian Argonaut = nr. 30. Gemistus' description ('proles generosa Cometae') is reminiscent of Val. Fl. 1.355-156.
35	Cenneus	*Caeneus*, the name of a Lapith ruler, father the Argonaut Coronus (Apoll. Rhod. 1.57f.). The brief description ('ferox, Venerem qui nouit utramque…') is reminiscent of the story told by Ovid (Ov. *Met.* 12.169-209, 459-535).
36	Innius	*Inous* = Melicertes, later Palaemon, son of Ino (for the phrasing see Verg. *Aen.* 5.823, *Georg.* 1.437). Possibly, Gemistus confused Melicertes/Palaemon with another Palaemon, who was one of the Argonauts (Apollod. 1.9.16, Apollon. Rhod. 1.202).
37	Admetus	King in Thessalian Pherae, Argonaut (Apoll. Rhod. 1.49, Hyginus, *Fab.* 14) and Calydonian hunter (Hyg. *Fab.* 173).
38	Archas	Son of Zeus and Callisto who gave his name to the Arcadians and was considered to be the bringer of civilisation (Paus. 8.4.1).
39	Cepheus	Arcadian local hero, mentioned as participant in the Argonaut expedition (Apoll. Rhod. 1.161).
40	Perseus	Greek hero, grandson of Acrisius, who fetched the head of the Gorgon Medusa (the most detailed literary depiction of which is Pind. *Pyth.* 10.31-50).
41	Theseus	Athenian hero, belonging to the generation before the Trojan War, best known for his his voyage to Crete and killing of the Minotaurus.
	Heroes associated with the Trojan War	
42	Aeacides	Patronym for all those who traced their lineage back to Aeacus, most notably Peleus, Achilles and Neoptolemus.

		As Peleus and Neoptolemus are mentioned elsewhere (cf. nrs. 4 and 64), it here most probably probably refers to Achilles (cf. nr. 54, where Poenix is described as 'the guardian of Aeacides').
43	Atrides	Agamemnon and Menelaus, protagonists in Homer's Iliad.
44	Tidides	*Diomedes*, son of Tydeus and Deipyle, a Greek hero from Troy who killed Pandarus, and wounded both Aphrodite and Ares (*Il.* 5.290-351, 825-863).
45	Aiax	*Ajax*, one of the protagonists in Homer's Iliad.
46	Mnesteus	*Mnestheus (?)*. This is a curious reference in this context for Mnestheus was one of the principal Trojans who followed Aeneas to Italy (Verg. *Aen.* 5.117). The Roman gens of the Memmii claimed him as their ancestor.
47	Teucer	Son of Telamon, warrior before Troy, half brother of Ajax (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.6, Quint. Smyrn. 4.405-435).
48	Peneleus	Son of Hippalcimus and Asterope, Argonaut (Hyg. *Fab.* 97) and leader of the Boeotians in the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 2.494).
49	Pilius senex	*Pylius senex*, Nestor, the wise adviser of the Greek troops before Troy. The description ('Pilius senex') is reminiscent of Sen. *Troad.* 210 and Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.107.
50	Ulyxes	*Odysseus*, Greek warrior before Troy and the protagonist of the Odyssee.
51	Thoas	Mythical ruler of Lemnos (Hom. *Il.* 14.230, 23.745), son of Dionysus and Ariadne. Through his daughter Hypsipyle (Ov. *Ep.* 6.114), Thoas is also connected with the legend of the Argonauts because she saved him from the murder of the men by the Lemnian women (Apollod. 1.114f.).
52	Leirus	*Leitus*, Boeotian hero and as such involved in the adventures of the Argonauts and in the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 2.494, 17.601, Eur. *IA* 259).
53	Thrasimedes	*Thrasymedes*, Son of Nestor and Anaxibia, Greek hero at Troy (Hom. *Od.* 3.412-415; Apollod. 1.94).
54	Phaenix	*Phoenix*, son of Amyntor, Greek hero at Troy, friend and teacher of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 9.447ff.).
55	Patroclus	Greek hero at Troy, best friend of Achilles with whose weapons he eventually entered the battlefield (Hom. *Il.* 11.796-803, 11.805-848).
56	Podalirius	*Podalirius*, son of Asclepius and Epione, brother of Machaon, and like him a heroic or divine physician (Hom. *Il.* 11.833, cf. ibid. 2.731).
57	Machaon	Brother of Podalirius, Trojan warrior, commander of 30 ships from Tricca, Ithome and Oechalia in Thessaly (Hom. *Il.* 2.729ff.).

58	Niceus	?
59	Phaleron	See nr. 7.
60	Calchas	Greek seer in Troy (Hom. *Il.* 1.70).
61	Meges	Son of Phyleus, sailed with 40 ships from Dulichium to Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.625ff.).
62	Diotes	*Diodes*, brother of Meges, son of Phyleus. Further unknown.
63	Antiphus	Son of the Ithacan Aegyptus, brother of the suitor of Eurynomus, killed by Polyphemus (Hom. *Od.* 2.15-22).
64	Neoptolemus	Son of Achilles and Deidamia, Greek warrior at Troy who killed Priamus (Paus. 10.27.2, Hom. *Od.* 11.506-537, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.529-558).
65	Clonius	Leader of the Boeotians at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.495).
66	Prothenor	*Prothoenor*, Boeotian warrior at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.495, 14.450-455).
67	Alcidis socius	Comrade of Heracles, probably Hylas who joined him during the journey of the Argonauts (Apollod. 1.117, Apoll. Rhod. 1.1153-1283).
68	Prothesilaus	*Protesilaus*, son of Iphicles, Greek warrior at Troy, commander of the Phthiotic contingent, with 40 ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.704-707).
69	Podarces	Son of Iphicles, brother of Protesilaus, leader of the Thessalians from Phylace and other cities in the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 2,704, 13.693).
70	Meriones	Cretan follower of Idomeneus who took part in the Trojan campaign (Hom. *Il.* 2.645-652).
71	Idomeneus	Son of Deucalion, grandson of Minos. Trojan warrior, commander of the Cretan contingent of 80 ships in the Trojan campaign (Hom. *Il.* 2.645-652).
72	Telephus	Son of Heracles and Auge (Hes. fr. 165,8-10 M./W.).
73	Schaedius	*Schedius*, son of king Iphitus and grandson of Naubolus, leader of the Phocians with 40 ships (Apollod. 3.129, Hom. *Il.* 2.517-526).
74	Antilochus	Oldest son of Nestor, comrade of Achilles and the leader of the Pylians (Hom. *Il.* 23.556, *Od.* 4.187).
75	Agapenor	Leader of the Arcadians before Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.609).
76	Tlepolemus	*Tlepolemus*, son of Heracles and Astyocheia, leader of the contingent from Rhodes before Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.653-670, 5.628-662).

Heroes associated with the early political and military history of Greece

77	Militiadas	Men like Miltiades (nr. 87).
78	Codros	Men like Codrus. Son of Melanthus, a mythical king of

		Athens. His only notable act was his voluntary sacrificial death in order to save the city (Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 154; Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 125; Lycurg. *Leocrates* 84-86; cf. Pl. *Symp.* 208d).
79	Solones	Men such as Solon, an Athenian lawgiver (b. ca. 640 BC).
80	Lyturgos	Men such as Lycurgus, legendary founder of the Spartan order.
81	Nicias	Men such as Nicias, one of the most important commanders in the Peloponnesian War (ca. 470–413 BC).
82	Agidas	*Agiadas*, royal dynasty in Sparta whose founding father was the Heraclid Eurysthenes, whose son Agis I became the eponymous hero of the house.
83	Pirros	Men such as Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and Macedonia (ca. 319–272 BC).
84	similes iuueni qui tot fera regna subegit...	Men such as Alexander the Great (356–323 BC).
85	[similes] illi quem iam Panachaia felix | constituit fecitque ducem bellique magistrum | barbarici...	Men such as Themistocles (ca. 525–459 BC), who attacked the Persian fleat of Xerxes at Salamis, leading to the defeat of the Persian armies.
86	Eumenes	Son of Hieronymus of Cardia, from 342 onwards chancellor for the Macedonian king Philip II and then for Alexander III.
87	Milciadis	*Miltiades* (ca. 555–489 BC), victor at the battle of Marathon.
88	Euagore	Men such as Euagoras, Greek king of Salamis on Cyprus since circa approximately 411 BC.
89	Arati	Men such as Aratus, either the Sicyonian leader of the Achaean League (245–213 BC), or a legendary figure in the early history of Sparta.
90	Phocion	Athenian *strategos*, leader of the oligarchis regime in Athens, commander of the left wing at the naval victory over Sparta at Naxos (ca. 402–318 BC).
91	Perides	*Pericles* (ca. 495–429), Athenian leader during the Peloponnesian War.
92	Thimoleon	*Timoleon* (ca. 411–337 BC), Corinthian general in Sicily (from 345 onwards), liberated Sicily from tyranny.
93	Philopemen	*Philopoemen* (253–183 BC), Achaean statesman, celebrated into the Roman imperial period as the 'last of the Greeks' and last champion of liberty (Paus. 8.52.6, Plut.

		Philopoemen 1.7).
94	Alcibiades	Multiple possibilities for identification emerge. Apart from the famous and controversial captain in the Peloponnesian War (d. 403 BC), Alcibiades may also refer to the Athenian who supported Cleisthenes against the Peisistratids from Athens in 510 BC (Isoc. *Or.* 16.26), or to his son who protested against the break between Athens and Sparta after the deposition of Cimon (461/462 BC) (Thuc. 5.43.2, 6.89.2).
95	Deomenes	*Cleomenes*, name of several Spartan kings between sixth to the third century BC, but also an Athenian who rejected the Spartan terms of peace in 404 BC (Plut. *Lysandros* 14). Most probably, reference is to Cleomenes I of the Agiad dynasty (see nr. 82) who tried to protect the Athenians against a collaboration of the Aeginians with the Persians (he was king from 520 BC onwards).

2.2 Gemistus' catalogue of Greek place names and tribes

The following list comprises all place names and ethnonyms Gemistus included in the fourth chapter of his *Protrepticon et pronosticon* and that together constitute his image of 'Graecia'. The first column contains the folium numbers of the Anconitan edition and the Florentine manuscript. The third offers the place name or the ethnonym exactly as it occurs in the 1516-edition of Gemistus' text, followed by its identification and localisation in the two following columns. The Plinian variant readings in Gemistus' text the Statian epithets point at Pliny's *Naturalis historia* and Statius' *Thebaid* as main sources for this catalogue. Columns 6-8 indicate if and where a name occurs in Pliny, Statius and, for comparison, also Pomponius Mela's *Choreographia*. I explained both the remarkable readings of place-names in Gemistus' poem and the epithets in the final column of the table.

The identification of the place names mentioned by Gemistus is generally complicated by abstruse orthographies, but in particular by alternative readings of place names that are not included in modern editions and lexica. In the final column, I did not comment upon obvious mistranscriptions (such as 'Gearis' for 'Geoaris') or regular early modern spelling variants. The most common and notable of such orthographical variations are *e* for the diphthong *ae*, the mutual exchangeability of *ch* and *th* as well as *y* and *i* (e.g. 'Zacinchus' for 'Zacynthus'), the loss of *c* after *s* where it is less audible in an Italianate pronunciation of Latin (e.g. 'Sidra' for 'Scydra'), and the doubling of consonants ('Pinnara' for 'Pinara'), assumedly to indicate that the preceding vowel is

long. In the fourth column, I tacitly corrected or normalised such deviations from modern standards.

On the other hand, in the final column of the table, I did comment upon the alternative readings in order to show how I identified particular place names in Gemistus' text. In addition, variant readings are of special interest because they tell us something about the source Johannes Gemistus most probably used to compile his list. The main variants I found in Gemistus' text seem to point at the tradition of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* as far as I was able to trace it on the basis of both the *apparatus* in Mayhoff's critical edition and additional consultation of early editions. So, for instance, I found the reading 'Primessa' for 'Prinoessa' only in the manuscript tradition of Pliny as well as in printed editions of his *Naturalis historia* from 1481 onwards (see on this chapter 6, pp. 210-212). I commented upon such instances that helped me to identify the places Gemistus mentioned. In the final column, I referred to the readings closest to Gemistus' variant as I found them in the apparatus of Mayhoff's edition (*app. crit.*). In some cases, I additionally checked the readings of the anonymous Venetian *editio princeps* of 1469 (*ed. pr.*) and, where necessary, the six most important fifteenth-century recensions of Pliny's history in addition to the editions of 1481 and 1483 (collectively referred to as *edd. recc.* and specified by their year of publication where this seemed helpful).[833]

nr.		identification	localisation	Plin.	Stat.	Mela
1	Byzantia tellus	Byzantine land, region	Thrace			
2	Micene	Mycenae, town	Peloponnesus	4.17	4.56,	2.41

[833] Apart from the Venetian edition of 1499, Mayhoff did not distinguish between the oldest editions of Pliny's text in his *apparatus*, but instead lumped them together under the siglum *v*. Sabbadini (1900) 439-448 (cf. Doody 2010: 97) distinguished six recensions, constitutive of fifteen incunable editions before Erasmus' Basle-edition of 1525. These include: (1) the *editio princeps* of an unknown editor (Venice: Johannes de Spira, 1469); (2) the recension of Johannes Andreae (Giovanni Andrea Bussi) (Venice: N. Jenson, 1472); (3) the recension of Nicolaus Perottus (Rome: C. Sweynheym and A. Pannartz, 1473); (4) the recension of Philippus Beroaldus (Parma: Stephanus Corallus, 1476); (5) the recension of Angelus and Jacobus Britannicus (Angelo and Giacomo Britannici) (Venice: Bartolomeo Zani, 1496); (6) the recension of Johannes Baptista Palmarius (Venice: B. Benalius, 1497; Venice: J. Alvisius, 1499). For the present purpose, I used the copies available in the Leiden University Library except for the *editio princeps* and Perotti's recension of 1473 for which I used the copies of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Bodleian Library in Oxford respectively.

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3	Patrae	Patras, town	Peloponnesus	4.11, 4.13	-	2.52
4	Thebe	Thebes, town	Boeotia	4.25	-	2.40
5	Helis	Elis, town	Peloponnesus	4.14	4.238	2.39, 40
6	Argivi	Argivians, tribe	Peloponnesus			
7	Pelasgi	Pelasgians, tribe	Peloponnesus	3.56, 4.9, 4.20		
8	Pisae	Olympia, town	Peloponnesus	4.14	4.238	
9	Calidon	Calydon, town	Aetolia	4.6	4.104	2.53
10	Sicion	Sicyon, town	Peloponnesus (Achaea)	4.12	4.50	2.53
11	Oebalii	Laconians, tribe	Peloponnesus			
12	Danai	Danai, tribe				
13	Pherei	Pheraei, tribe	Thessalians	-	2.163	-
14	Archades	Arcadians, tribe	Peloponnesus	pass.	4.275	
15	Troezen	Troezen, town	Peloponnesus	4.18	4.81	2.50
16	Egion	Aegium, town	Peloponnesus	4.12, 22	4.81	2.53
17	Pilos	Pylos, town	Peloponnesus	4.14	4.125, 224	2.52
18	Epidaurus	Epidaurus, town	Peloponnesus	4.22	4.123	2.50
19	Olenos	Olenus, town	Peloponnesus	4.13	4.104	-
20	Corinthus	Corinth, town	Peloponnesus	4.11	-	2.48
21	Messene	Messina, town	Peloponnesus	4.15	4.179	2.41
22	Pleuron	Pleuron, town	Aetolia	4.6	4.103	4.6
23	Amphiginea	Amphigenia, town	Peloponnesus	-	4.178	-
24	Tenari	Taenarum, town	Peloponnesus	4.16	4.214	2.49, 50, 51
25	Euchius	Echinus (?), town	Peloponnesus or Thessaly	4.5, 28	-	-
26	Azan	Azanes/Azania, tribe/region	Peloponnesus at the border of Arcadia with Elis (Str. 8.3.1, 8.1)	-	4.292	-
27	Lampia	Lampia, town	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.290	-
28	Enispe	Enispe, town	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.286	-
29	Tegeeia tellus	Tegeia tellus, Tegea, town	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.287	2.43

30	Innachii	Inachians	Peloponnesus			
31	Nonatria	Nonacria, town	Peloponnesus	4.21	4.294	-
32	Pharis	Pharis, town	Peloponnesus	4.45	4.226	-
33	Messe	Messe, town	Peloponnesus	-	4.226	-
34	Parthenium nemus	Parthenius, mountain	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.285	-
35	Thire	Thyrea, town	Peloponnesus	4.16	4.48	-
36	Neris	Neris, settlement	Peloponnesus	-	4.47	-
37	qui colunt Drepani scopulis	Drepanon, outcrop	Peloponnesus	3.88	4.50	-
38	qui colunt saxa Philenes	Phyle (?)	Attica			
39	qui undas Stigii diras uenerantur	Styx, river	Peloponnesus	2.231	-	-
40	Elisos	Elissos, river	Peloponnesus	-	4.52	-
41	Inathiae ripae	Inachiae ripae, Inachus river with the plain of Argus	Peloponnesus	4.18	-	-
42	Lyncea rura	Lycaea rura (?), Lucaeus, mountain	Peloponnesus	4.21	2.206 etc.	-
43	Ladon	Ladon, river	Peloponnesus	4.21	4.289	2.43
44	Clitois campi	Clitoris campi, Clitor(ium), town	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.289	-
45	Euroe campi	Eurotae campi, Eurotas, river	Peloponnesus	4.16	4.122	-
46	Erassimne	Erasinus (?), river	Peloponnesus	4.17	4.122, 713; 1.357	-
47	Acheloia arua	Aetolian fields, region	Aetolia	-	1.453	-
48	Nemeae	Nemea, town	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.159	
49	Philos	Phlius, town	Peloponnesus	4.13	4.45	-
50	Taigetus	Taygetus, mountain	Peloponnesus	4.16	4.227; 6.825	
51	Arthemenos	Orchomenos, town	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.295	2.43
52	Cleonei	Cleonaei, inhabitants of Cleonae	Peloponnesus	4.20	4.160	-

53	Schaenus	Schoenus, port	Probably the port on the eastern coast of the Isthmus of Corinth	4.23	-	1.84
54	Egina	Aegina (?), island	Saronic Gulf	4.57	-	-
55	Dime	Dyme, town	Peloponnesus	4.13	4.124	-
56	Cenchrea	Cenchreae, port	Saronic Gulf	4.10	4.60	2.48
57	Lerna	Lerna, forest	Peloponnesus	4.17	4.172 etc.	
58	tellus Acciaca	tellus Attica, region	Attica			
59	Athenae	Athens, town	Attica	4.23		2.40
60	Megara	Megara, town	Attica	4.23	-	-
61	Cremion	Cremmyon, town	Attica	4.23	-	-
62	Pangei	Pangaei, the inhabitants of the Pangaeus	Thrace (on the borders of Macedonia, near Philippi)	4.40, 42; 7.197; 21.17	6.666 etc.	-
63	Schironia saxa	Scironia saxa, Scironian cliffs	Attica	4.23	-	2.47
64	Thesbia	Thespia, city	Boeotia	4.25		
65	Rhamnos	Rhamnus, town	Attica	4.24	-	-
66	Eleusis	Euleusis, town	Attica	4.23	12.627	2.40
67	Aulis	Aulis, town	Boeotia	4.26	7.333	2.45
68	Bauron	Brauron, village	Attica	4.24	6.615	2.45
69	Oropus	Oropus, coastal town	Attica	4.24	-	-
70	Tanagra	Tanagra, city	Boeotia	4.26	7.254	-
71	Opuntii	Opuntians, the inhabitants of Opus	Locris	4.27	-	2.45
72	Locri	Locris, region	Locris	4.27	-	2.39
73	Daphus	Daphnus, port	Phocis	4.27	-	-
74	Helea	Elatea/Elea (?), towns	Phocis/Epirus	4.27/3.71	-	-
75	Platee	Plataeae, city	Boeotia	4.26	7.333	-
76	Naritii	Narycii (?), inhabitants of the city Narycum	Phocis	4.27	-	-
77	Alope	Alope, town	Locris	4.27	-	2.45
78	Scarphia	Scarphia, town	Locris	4.27, 62	-	-
79	Maleae	Malea,	Peloponnesus	4.22, 50,	1.100;	2.49

		promontory		60	2.33; 4.224; 7.16; 10.537	
80	Delphi	Delphi, town	Phocis	4.7; 6.216	9.513	2.40
81	Larina	Larine, spring (= nr. 89?) or Larymna/Larumna, port	Attica or Locris	4.24, 27; 5.104	-	1.84; 2.45
82	Pirreum	Piraeus, port	Attica	4.24	-	2.47
83	Thronium	Thronium, town	Locris	4.27	-	-
84	Pteleum	Pteleon/Pteleum, town	Peloponnesus, Thessaly, Boeotia, at the bay of Erythrae	4.15, 26 (cf. app. crit.), 29; 5.117	4.181	2.44
85	Micalessus	Mycalesos, town	Boeotia	4.25, 26	7.272	-
86	Cephisus	Cephissus, river	Boeotia	4.24, 26, 27	7.349	-
87	Sphertius	Spercheius, river	Thessaly	4.28	4.845	-
88	Calliroe	Callirroe, river	Attica	4.24	12.629	-
89	Larines	?	see nr. 81			
90	Dirces	Dirce, river	Boeotia	4.25	4.8, 374, 447	-
91	Brisseli scopuli	Brilessus/Brilettus (?) = Pentelicon, mountain	Attica	4.24	-	-
92	Himeri	Hymettus, mountain	Attica	4.24	12.622	-
93	Heliconis alti cumina	Helicon, mountain	Boeotia	4.8, 25	-	-
94	Thermopile	Thermopylae, coastal pass		4.28	-	2.45
95	Oethea saxa	Oethaea saxa, Oeta, mountain	Boeotia	4.28	4.158	2.36
96	Pelagus Ionum Egeumque	Ionian and Aegean Sea				
97	Pheatia	Phaeacia, Corfu (contra Strabo 1.2.18), island	Ionian Sea	4.52	-	-
98	Thorone	Torone, town / Othronos, island	Chalcidian peninsula /	4.36 /4.52	-	2.34

			Ionian Sea			
99	Marathe	Marathe, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
100	Ericusa	Ericusa, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
101	Malthace	Malthace, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
102	Thrachie	Trachie, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
103	Arnoxe	Oxia, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
104	Taphie	Taphiae, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
105	Primessa	Prinoessa, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
106	Echimades	Echinades, islands	Ionian Sea	4.53	2.731	2.109
107	Cotonis	Coton, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
108	Egiale	Aegialia, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
109	Melena	Melaenae, island	Ionian Sea	4.54	12.619	
110	Zacinchus	Zacynthus, island	Ionian Sea	4.54	-	2.109
111	Dulichium	Dulichium, island	Ionian Sea	4.54	-	2.109
112	Ithace	Ithaca, island	Ionian Sea	4.54	-	2.109
113	Euboia	Euboea, island	Ionian Sea	4.26, 63	9.768	2.107
114	Chalcis	Chalcis, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	4.106	2.108, 111
115	Cirnus	Cyrnus, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
116	Pinnara	Pinara, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
117	Gearis	Geoaris, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
118	Dionisia	Dionysia, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
119	Thiatira	Thyatira, island	Ionian Sea	4.53	-	-
120	Strophades	Strophades, islands	Ionian Sea	4.55	-	2.109
121	Prothe	Prote, island	Ionian Sea	4.55	-	2.109
122	Cythera	Cythera, island	Ionian Sea	4.56, 57	-	2.109
123	Pithiussa	Pityusa, island	Gulf of Nauplia	4.56	-	-
124	Creta	Creta, island	Mediterranean Sea	4.58	-	-
125	Irrine	Arine, island	Gulf of Nauplia	4.56	-	-
126	Pironis	?				
127	Helussa	Eleusa (?), island	Aegean Sea	4.57	-	-
128	Carpathos	Carpathus, island	Aegean Sea	4.71; 5.133	-	-
129	Salamis	Salamis, island	Saronic Gulf	4.62	-	2.102, 109
130	Coos	Ceos, island	Aegean Sea	4.62	-	2.100
131	Phocussa	Phacusa, island	Aegean Sea	4.68	-	-
132	Andros	Andrus, island	Aegean Sea	4.65, 103	-	2.111
133	Olearos	Olearos, island	Aegean Sea	4.67	-	2.111
134	Seriphus	Seriphus, island	Aegean Sea	4.65	-	2.111

135	Naxos	Naxos, island	Aegean Sea	4.67	7.686	2.111
136	Paros	Paros, island	Aegean Sea	4.67	5.182	2.111
137	Caristos	Carystus, town	Euboea	4.64	7.370	2.108
138	Icara	Icaria, island	Aegean island	4.68	4.655	2.111
139	Idrussa	Hydrussa, island	Aegean Sea	4.62, 65	-	-
140	Psitale	Psyttalea, island	Saronic Gulf	4.62	-	-
141	Sciros	Scyros, island	Aegean Sea	4.69, 72	-	2.106
142	glauco Nessus	Glauconnesus, island	Aegean Sea	4.65	-	-
143	Anaxo	Naxos, island	Aegean Sea	4.69	7.686	2.111
144	Zephire	Zephyre, island	Aegean Sea	4.61	-	2.114
145	Giaros	Gyaros, island	Aegean Sea	4.69	3.438	2.111
146	Agathussa	Agathusa, island	Aegean Sea	4.69	-	-
147	Schinussa	Schinusa, island	Aegean Sea	4.68	-	-
148	Petalie	Petaliae, island	Aegean Sea	4.71	-	-
149	Thassos	Thasos, island	Aegean Sea	4.73	5.183	2.105
150	Calimna	Calymnus, island	Aegean Sea	4.71	-	2.111
151	Imbros	Imbrus/Imbros, island	Aegean Sea	4.72	-	2.105
152	Farmacusa	Pharmacusa, island	Aegean Sea	4.71	-	-
153	Sciathos	Sciathus/Sciathos, island	Aegean Sea	4.72	-	2.105
154	Lamponia	Lamponia, island	Aegean Sea	4.74	-	-
155	Glauce	?				
156	Boggillia	Aegilia, island	Aegean Sea	4.65	-	2.111
157	Samothrace	Samothrace, island	Aegean Sea	4.73	-	2.105
158	Lesbos	Lesbos, island	Aegean Sea	5.139	-	2.100
159	Lemnos	Lemnus/Lemnos, island	Aegean Sea	4.73	5.50, 462	2.105
160	Rodos	Rhodus/Rhodos, island	Aegean Sea	2.202, 5.104	-	2.100
161	Cypros	Cyprus/Cypros, island	Mediterranean Sea	5.92,	-	2.102
162	Chios	Chios, island	Aegean Sea	4.51	-	2.100
163	Tempe	Tempe, valley	Thessaly	4.31	10.119	2.36
164	Larissa	Larisa/Larissa, town	Thessaly	4.27, 29; 6.216	2.253 etc.	2.40
165	Phthia	Phthia, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	2.40
166	Cranon	Crannon, town	Thessaly	4.29, 32	-	-
167	Pteleum nemus	the forest of Pteleum	Thessaly	4.29	nr. 84	nr. 84

	magnum					
168	Thaumantia	Thaumacie, town	Thessaly	4.32	-	-
169	Illetia	Illetia, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	-
170	Phere	Pherae, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	-
171	Castana	Castana, town	Thessaly	4.32	-	2.35
172	Atrax	Atrax, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	-
173	Elmon	Holmon, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	-
174	Gomphi	Gomphi, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	-
175	Pagasae rura	Pagasa, town	Thessaly	4.29	-	-
176	Methone	Methone, town	Thessaly	4.32	-	2.40
177	Acarna	Acharne, town	Thessaly	4.32	-	-
178	Aeantia	Aeantium, promontory	Thessaly	4.32	-	-
179	qui colunt Hemi scopulos	Haemus, mountain	Thrace	4.41, 45	11.195	-
180	et culmina Pindi	Pindus, mountain	Thessaly	4.30	-	-
181	Parnassi iugum geminum	Parnassus, mountain	Phocis	4.7	1.629 etc.	2.40
182	Cyrrea saxa	Cirrhaea saxa, Cirrha, town	Phocis	4.7	-	-
183	Olimpum	Olympus, mountain	Thessaly	4.30	5.85 etc.	1.98; 2.36
184	Pelium	Pelium, mountain	Thessaly	4.30	8.79 etc.	2.36
185	Othrim	Othrys, mountain	Thessaly	4.30	-	-
186	Thessalonica	Thessalonica, city	Thessaly	4.36; 6.216	-	2.35
187	campos … Aemathios	Emathia, region	Macedonia	4.33	-	-
188	Aege	Aegae, town	Macedonia	4.33	-	-
189	Oloros	Aloros, town	Macedonia	4.34	-	2.35
190	Thinna	Pydna (?), town	Macedonia	4.34	-	-
191	Tirrissa	Tyrissa, town	Macedonia	4.34	-	-
192	Peonii	Paeonii, Paeonians, tribe	Macedonia	4.35	-	-
193	Scotussii	Scotussaei, Scotusians, tribe	Macedonia	4.35	-	-
194	Migdones	Mygdones, Mygdonians, tribe	Macedonia	4.35	-	-
195	Flegra	Phlegra	Macedonia	4.36	2.595	-
196	Fordea	Eordaea, town	Macedonia	4.34	-	-
197	Hermione	Hermione/Hermi	Peloponnesus	4.18	-	2.50

		ona, town				
198	Dicea	Dicaea, town	Macedonia	4.36, 42	-	-
199	Othrinei	Othryonei, tribe	Thessaly	4.35	-	-
200	Pelagones	Pelagonians, tribe	Macedonia	4.35	-	-
201	Ampelos	Ampelos, promontory	Macedonia	4.36	-	-
202	Palene	Pallene, town	Macedonia	4.36	-	-
203	Potidea	Potidaea, town	Macedonia	4.36	-	2.33
204	Rodopen	Rhodope, mountain	Macedonia	4.3, 35	2.81 etc.	2.17
205	Scopium	Scopius, mountain	Macedonia	4.35	-	-
206	Pella	Pella, town	Macedonia	4.34	-	-
207	Phissella	Myscella, town	Macedonia	4.36	-	-
208	Sidra	Scydra, town	Macedonia	4.34	-	-
209	Athos	Athos, mountain	Macedonia	4.36	5.52	-
210	Orobellus	Orbelus, mountain	Macedonia, Thrace	4.35	-	2.17
211	Ipsizorus	Hypsizonus, mountain	Macedonia	4.36	-	-
212	Epirus	Epirus, region	Epirus	4.2	-	2.39

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Nederlandse Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift bestudeert de zelfrepresentatie van Byzantijnse intellectuelen die in de 'lange vijftiende eeuw' (ca. 1390–1520) werkzaam waren in Italië met bijzondere aandacht voor de rol die het antieke Griekenland daarin speelde. Ofschoon de Byzantijnen zich meer dan duizend jaar lang hadden geïdentificeerd met de Romeinen, presenteerden de Byzantijnse intelligentsia in Italië zich bijna altijd als Hellenen of Grieken. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt onder welke omstandigheden en met welke strategieën zij deze metamorfose ondergingen. Het bestaat uit twee complementaire delen. Het eerste deel omvat twee hoofdstukken waarin de cultuurhistorische problematiek wordt geschetst van de Byzantijnse zelfrepresentatie in de laatste decennia van Byzantium (hoofdstuk 1) en in de laat- en post-Byzantijnse diaspora in Italië (hoofdstuk 2). Tegen deze achtergrond worden in het tweede deel vier detailstudies uitgewerkt (hoofdstukken 3, 4, 5, 6) waarin steeds diverse aspecten van de Griekse zelfrepresentatie in het werk van één Byzantijnse geleerde centraal staan, bijvoorbeeld de manier waarop men de Griekse erfenis opeiste, welk gebied men eigenlijk met 'Griekenland' associeerde en hoe men de rol van de Grieken in de geschiedenis zag. Hierbij wordt steeds aandacht besteed aan de manier waarop Byzantijnse geleerden in Italië zichzelf met het antieke verleden van Griekenland associeerden. Zij deden dat niet alleen door het Oudgrieks als hun voertaal te cultiveren en zichzelf 'Hellenen' te noemen. Alhoewel zij zich terdege bewust waren van de kloof tussen Byzantium en Hellas, probeerden zij een hoge mate van culturele onveranderlijkheid te suggereren door zichzelf te presenteren als (over)dragers van de Griekse cultuur en van specifieke karaktereigenschappen die zij als typisch Helleens zagen (zoals vrijheidsliefde). Ze bestendigden hun relatie met de oude Grieken bovendien door zichzelf als hun 'nakomelingen' te presenteren en op basis daarvan specifieke claims te formuleren (bijvoorbeeld culturele superioriteit over alle andere volkeren en het 'recht' op bescherming).

De 'Griekse' zelfrepresentatie van de Byzantijnse intellectuelen in Italië heeft aanleiding gegeven tot verschillende interpretaties, die niet altijd met elkaar in overeenstemming zijn. Zo is hun identificatie met de oude Grieken aangehaald als 'bewijs' dat er reeds in de vijftiende eeuw een nationaal-Griekse identiteit bestond. Er is daarentegen ook beweerd dat de 'Grieksheid' van deze intellectuelen juist werd geremd door het

kosmopolitisme dat volgens sommigen eigen is aan het Italiaanse humanisme. In de Introductie worden bij beide opvattingen kanttekeningen geplaatst.

Op de eerste plaats is het beter om niet te spreken over de 'Griekse identiteit' van de Byzantijnse intelligentsia in Italië. De bruikbaarheid van het begrip 'identiteit' zelf lijdt onder een wildgroei van tegengestelde betekenissen, terwijl de term 'Griekse identiteit' sterke ideologische bijbetekenissen heeft. Ondanks het feit dat de Byzantijnse intelligentsia in Italë zichzelf Grieken of Hellenen noemden, tonen de detailstudies in dit proefschrift aan dat hun visie op wat er achter dat Griekse label schuilging helemaal niet uniform was. Afkomst, taal, geschiedenis en territorium speelden allemaal hun rol, maar hoe de Byzantijnen zich precies verhielden tot de oude Grieken was in hoge mate gebonden aan specifieke contexten. De homogeniteit die het begrip 'identiteit' suggereert, wordt in andere woorden niet ondersteund door een kritische interpretatie van de bronteksten.

Op de tweede plaats is het vermeende kosmopolitisme van het Italiaanse humanisme recent op losse schroeven gezet. Het Latijnse cultuurchauvinisme van de Italiaanse humanisten lijkt juist het eergevoel en de gemeenschapszin van niet-Italiaanse geleerden te hebben gestimuleerd. In de competitieve sfeer die het humanisme kenmerkt, namen aanvankelijk met name Franse en Duitse humanisten krachtig stelling *tegen* de Italiaanse dominantie door juist hun *Franse* en *Duitse* eigenheid te benadrukken. Hoewel de Grieken onder de niet-Italianen een eigen plaats innamen (zoals in hoofdstuk 2 wordt uitgelegd), lijkt hun *Griekse* eergevoel op een vergelijkbare manier juist door het Latijnse humanisme in de hand te zijn gewerkt. Zoals in de Introductie verder wordt uitgelegd, helpt het socio-culturele begrip *zelfrepresentatie* om (1) de meerduidigheid van de term 'identiteit' te voorkomen en (2) de sociale aspecten van identificatie nadrukkelijk in de analyse te betrekken.

Byzantijnse intellectuelen in Italië zijn tot dusverre met name bestudeerd wegens hun belangrijke rol in de overdracht van Griekse literatuur van Byzantium naar West-Europa. Zonder de vijftiende-eeuwse *brain drain* van Byzantijnen naar West-Europa zou onze kennis van het oude Griekenland – de retorica, de filosofie, de Griekse grammatica en vele andere domeinen – er heel anders uit hebben gezien. Toch is het *doorgeven* van antieke teksten slechts één aspect van de rol die de Byzantijnse intelligentsia speelden. De hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift werpen samen nieuw licht op de rol van de Byzantijnen in de kennistransmissie van Oost naar West. Ze tonen aan dat de Byzantijnse intelligentsia de antiek-Griekse literatuur niet alleen *doorgaven* aan de Italiaanse humanisten. Byzantijnen in Italië *vereenzelvigden* zich met de oude Grieken en

claimden het Oude Hellas als hun eigenlijke vaderland. De Griekse literatuur was om die reden niet een literatuur van 'dode mensen' die Europese humanisten konden bestuderen 'zonder de hinderlijke tussenkomst van daadwerkelijke Grieken' (zoals Edward Said meende). Europese humanisten *gebruikten* dus wel degelijk de literaire erfenis van levende, échte Grieken, die voor dit gebruik compensatie verlangden in de vorm van financiële steun en onderdak, het behoud van het Griekse patrimonium of het heroveren van hun vaderland.

Het onderwerp van dit proefschrift hangt op die manier ook samen met debatten over de opkomst van een 'Griekse identiteit' in het interval tussen de ondergang van Constantinopel en de opkomst van de natiestaat Hellas in de negentiende eeuw. Het is niet de bedoeling van deze studie om die geschiedenis te herschrijven, maar wel om ze te herijken. Dat doet het op tenminste twee manieren. Op de eerste plaats verlegt het de chronologische bakens door zich te richten op vroegmoderne bronnen, terwijl het meeste onderzoek naar de *making of Greece* zich uitsluitend richt op de moderne tijd. De zelfrepresentatie van Byzantijnse intellectuelen in Italië blijkt een voorafschaduwing van de manier waarop Griekse intellectuelen in de achttiende en negentiende nadachten over hun relatie met de oude Grieken. Dit proefschrift stelt vast dat retorische strategieën (zoals het etnisch linken van 'nieuwe' en 'oude' Grieken of het koppelen van Hellenisme met een politiek territorium) werden gebruikt lang voordat de nationalistische ideologen van de negentiende eeuw ze ontdekten en inzetten voor hun eigen doeleinden. Op de tweede plaats herijkt het de bestudering van de 'Griekse identiteit' van de Byzantijnse intellectuelen door hun identificatie met de Grieken niet te zien als de natuurlijke uitdrukkingen van een onveranderlijke Griekse identiteit, zoals nationale interpretaties vaak volhouden. Het begrip *zelfrepresentatie* stelt ons in staat om de 'Griekse identiteit' van de Byzantijnse intellectuelen te zien als een representatie en constructie *zonder* daarmee het socio-culturele belang van deze identificatie met de oude Grieken te ontkennen.

Het **eerste hoofdstuk** laat zien hoe revolutionair de laat- en post-Byzantijnse identificatie met de antieke Hellenen in feite was, als we ernaar kijken door een traditionele Byzantijnse bril. Het doet dat door het Hellenisme in het laat-Byzantijnse Rijk in kaart te brengen tegen en te relateren aan recent onderzoek naar het Byzantijnse zelfbeeld door de tijd heen. Zodra we erkennen dat de Byzantijnen het woord 'Byzantijnen' zelf niet gebruiken om naar zichzelf te verwijzen, rijst als vanzelf de vraag hoe zij zichzelf dan wél zagen. Zij presenteerden zichzelf gedurende hun lange

geschiedenis doorgaans als Christelijke Romeinen. De identificatie met de oude Grieken bleef daarentegen strikt beperkt tot excentrieke individuen totdat het Hellenisme in de vijftiende eeuw opgang begon te maken. De verandering die gaandeweg de laatste decennia van Byzantium doorzet, wordt in deze studie gezien als een overgang van Hellenisme naar Grieksheid. Dit betekent in concreto dat de bestudering en imitatie van de Helleense literatuur (Hellenisme) voor sommige Byzantijnse geleerden een aanvullende of 'diepere' betekenis krijgt door hun etno-culturele identificatie met de antieke Hellenen (kortweg 'Grieksheid').

Met name laat-Byzantijnse intellectuelen die in de periode tussen 1390 en 1470 in de Griekstalige wereld actief waren, bedachten verschillende manieren om het Hellenisme een 'diepere' betekenis te geven. Zij deden dat door de oude Grieken te relateren aan het traditionele Romeinse zelfbeeld van de Byzantijnen. Om hiervan een indruk te geven wordt in dit hoofdstuk de Griekse zelfrepresentatie van Manuel Chrysoloras, Gemistos Plethon en Laonikos Chalkokondyles in meer detail besproken. Chrysoloras hield in zijn werk vast aan een Grieks-Romeins dualisme in politieke zin, ook al benadrukte hij dat de Griekse nalatenschap alomtegenwoordig was in de Romeinse cultuur (zowel in het Rome aan de Tiber als in het 'nieuwe' Rome aan de Bosphorus). Plethon en Chalkokondyles transformeerden de Romeinen van het Oosten daarentegen in Hellenen in etnische zin. Naast een verbeelde etnische en culturele gemeenschap vormden de Hellenen voor hen beiden idealiter ook een coherente politieke eenheid. Anders dan hun tijdgenoten beredeneerden en rechtvaardigden Plethon en Chalkokondyles hun revolutionaire herformulering van het traditionele Byzantijnse zelfbeeld. Zij formuleerden op die manier voor de eerste keer een beredeneerd Helleens alternatief voor de traditionele Byzantijnse identificatie met de Romeinen. Een uitgewerkte 'Hellenentheorie' vinden we bij hen echter niet.

Ofschoon hun beredeneerde Grieksheid atypisch blijft voor hun tijd, vinden we de belangrijkste kenmerken ervan weerspiegeld in de latere of contemporaine zelfrepresentatie van de Byzantijnse intelligentsia in Italië: de etnische verwantschap van de Byzantijnen met de oude Grieken, een uitgesproken zorg voor cultureel en politiek voortbestaan van de Hellenen, de gedachte dat Hellenisme gebonden is aan een bepaald grondgebied en daaraan gekoppeld de notie dat de Hellenen als verbeelde gemeenschap de contemporaine dynastieke en politieke grenzen overstegen. Deze overeenkomsten mogen de aandacht echter niet afleiden van de grote verschillen. Terwijl Plethons Grieksheid kan gelden als een vorm van intellectueel verzet tegen de traditionele Byzantijnse machtsstructuren en het onvermogen van het Byzantijnse humanisme om

zich aan nieuwe omstandigheden aan te passen, waren het Hellenisme en de Grieksheid van de Byzantijnse diaspora in Italië een antwoord op heel andere uitdagingen en problemen.

Het **tweede hoofdstuk** demonstreert dat Byzantijnse intellectuelen die in de vijftiende eeuw in Italië werkzaam waren, hun Romeinse zelfpresentatie geheel en al vervingen door uitgesproken vormen van Grieksheid. Zij lijken zichzelf vanaf deze tijd gezien te hebben als Hellenen die het *imperium romanum* hadden bewaakt en daardoor enige Romeinse kenmerken hadden overgenomen, vooral in hun taal en in hun instellingen.

De expliciete zelfrepresentatie van de Byzantijnen als Hellenen mondde uit in een nadrukkelijke verwerping van de traditionele Byzantijnse identificatie met de Romeinen. Theodorus Gaza's traktaat over de Attische kalender, een brief van Constantinus Lascaris en een epigram van Janus Lascaris illustreren dit. Ofschoon Chrysoloras de kracht van de Grieks-Romeinse synergie had benadrukt, benadrukken Gaza and Janus Lascaris de *negatieve* invloed van de Romeinse aanwezigheid in Byzantium op de eenheid van de Griekse taal en cultuur. Het uitgebreide Griekse en Latijnse oeuvre van kardinaal Bessarion demonstreert bovendien hoe Byzantijnse intellectuelen in Italië steevast naar zichzelf verwezen als 'Hellenen' of 'Grieken', terwijl ze het label 'Romeinen' reserveerden voor degenen die de Byzantijnen vroeger smalend 'Latijnen' of 'Franken' hadden genoemd. Een vergelijkbaar gebruik treffen we aan bij Bessarions tijdgenoten zoals Theodorus Gaza, Andronicus Callistus en Michael Apostoles, maar ook bij een latere generatie Byzantijnen in Italië, zoals Marcus Musurus en Janus Lascaris. In het licht van hun identificatie met de antieke Grieken zijn hun bibliofilie, filologische werkzaamheden en kopieerwoede niet alleen uitdrukkingen van hun humanistische geleerdheid, maar ook pogingen om hun verloren band met het antieke Griekenland en derhalve hun eigenlijke vaderland te herstellen.

Om deze transformatie in Italië ten volle te begrijpen moet rekening gehouden worden met de manier waarop de Italianen de Byzantijnen identificeerden. De Italianen lieten immers weinig ruimte voor de Byzantijnen om zich als Romeinen voor te stellen en zagen hen uitsluitend als Grieken, ook al waren sommigen van hen zich bewust van de Byzantijnse aanspraken op (politieke) Romaniteit. Voor de Italiaanse identificatie van de Byzantijnen als Hellenen in plaats van Romeinen kunnen tenminste twee redenen worden gegeven: (1) de tendens in westerse bronnen vanaf de negende eeuw om de Byzantijnen 'Grieken' te noemen teneinde Byzantijnse aanspraken op de

Romeinse keizerstitel te ondermijnen en (2) de omstandigheid dat de Italiaanse humanisten 'Romeinen' principieel associeerden met het Latijn en met de kerk van Rome en zichzelf beschouwden als hun meest legitieme erfgenamen en dikwijls ook afstammelingen. Het feit dat Byzantijnen Grieks spraken, grofweg in het territorium van de oude Hellenen woonden en zichzelf in de loop van de vijftiende eeuw toenemend als 'Hellenen' begonnen voor te doen, versterkte derhalve de in het Latijnse Westen reeds aanwezige tendens om de Byzantijnen 'Grieken' te noemen.

In Italië werden de Byzantijnen op hun beurt gestimuleerd om zich als Grieken te presenteren, omdat hun Grieksheid socio-culturele voordelen bood. Niet alleen vormden zij als Grieken geen bedreiging voor de Italiaanse aanspraken op het oude Rome, maar ook had de opkomst van het humanisme met zijn interesse in het Oudgrieks een voorzichtige herwaardering van het oude Hellas teweeggebracht. Als vertegenwoordigers van de oude Grieken genoten de Byzantijnen derhalve een zekere culturele status aan Italiaanse hoven en universiteiten. Door zich nadrukkelijk als nazaten van de oude Grieken te presenteren bestendigden ze hun culturele erfgenaamschap.

Ofschoon de Byzantijnen zich als Grieken doorgaans positief konden onderscheiden van andere geleerden, waren Italiaanse humanisten niet onder alle omstandigheden onverdeeld positief over de Byzantijnse Grieken in hun midden. Ze prezen hun prestaties in de Griekse letteren, maar ze wezen ook op hun (stereotypische) ondeugden (arrogantie, wispelturigheid, seksuele perversie enz.) en op de intellectuele kloof tussen 'nieuwe' en 'oude' Grieken. De negatieve houding van de Italianen ten opzichte van de Byzantijnse Grieken hangen nauw samen met de sfeer van competitie waarin de humanisten moesten werken. Zodra Grieksheid voor Byzantijnse intellectuelen een waardevolle eigenschap werd, werd ze voor de Italiaanse humanisten die met hen moesten concurreren, juist een gevaar. Bovendien waren Italiaanse humanisten geïrriteerd door wat zij zagen als zelfingenomen Griekse aanvallen op de autoriteit van Latijnse auteurs of de kwaliteiten van de Latijnse taal zelf. Ze riposteerden door de autoriteit van hun Byzantijnse collega's te ondermijnen met stereotyperingen die ze kenden uit o.a. Vergilius, Cicero en Juvenalis. Dergelijke aanvallen waren wijd verspreid en werden niet alleen geuit door fanatieke tegenstanders van het Oudgrieks.

Als Grieken in Italië hielden de Byzantijnse geleerden dus een delicate positie. Hoewel zij de positieve implicaties van hun opgelegde Grieksheid konden gebruiken om zichzelf op positieve wijze te onderscheiden, moesten ze ook rekening houden met de uitgesproken anti-Griekse stereotiepen die hun Italiaanse collega's in stelling konden

brengen om hun *selling point* juist in discrediet te brengen. Hierbij is het van belang om op te merken dat zij niet slechts Italiaanse standpunten *volgden*, maar die tevens *manipuleerden*. Dit blijkt uit het feit dat zij vasthielden aan hun culturele superioriteit, dat zij een 'cultuurschuld' bij de Italianen opeisten en dat zij de Italianen soms ook probeerden voor te stellen als een soort 'verwaterde' Grieken. Samen met het eerste hoofdstuk laat het tweede op deze manier zien dat post-Byzantijnse intellectuelen in Italië hun Grieksheid in een andere context opnieuw gestalte gaven, maar dat ze dat niet noodzakelijkerwijs deden met dezelfde doelstellingen en motivaties als hun Byzantijnse voorgangers.

In het tweede deel van het proefschrift illustreren vier detailstudies verschillende aspecten van de Grieksheid die Byzantijnse intellectuelen in Italië voor zichzelf en hun mede-Grieken ontwierpen. Tegelijkertijd benadrukken zij de verschillende vormen die zij aan hun identificatie met de Grieken gaven. Want hoewel zij zichzelf collectief 'Grieken' en 'Hellenen' noemden, tonen deze detailstudies aan dat dit ons niet moet verleiden tot de gedachte dat er een welomlijnd en definitief idee bestond over wat deze Grieksheid precies inhield (gedeelde afkomst, taal, territorium, verleden) en hoe ze uitdrukking moest krijgen (cultureel, politiek, sociaal).

Het **derde hoofdstuk** gaat in op kardinaal Bessarions Hellenisme. Eerder onderzoek keek vooral terloops naar de uiterlijke kenmerken van zijn Grieksheid zonder zijn eigen oeuvre (en met name zijn niet-theologische werk in het Grieks) diepgaand te bestuderen. Dit hoofdstuk brengt Bessarions ideeën over Grieksheid in kaart, maar laat tegelijkertijd zien hoe die gecompliceerd werden door zijn functie als Romeinse kerkvorst.

Op basis van zijn Griekse *Lofprijzing tot Trebizonde* (ca. 1436–1440), zijn memorandum voor Constantijn Palaeologus, zijn *Encycliek aan de Grieken* en andere werken toont dit hoofdstuk aan dat de Romeinse kardinaal welomlijnde ideeën had over wie hij en de zijnen waren, namelijk Hellenen die zich duidelijk onderscheidden van andere volkeren, zoals de Romeinen. Zij vormden een gemeenschap met een gedeelde etnische afkomst, een literair en intellectueel erfgoed en een aantal geestelijke en intellectuele eigenschappen; deze verbeelde gemeenschap overschreed bovendien de bestaande dynastieke, politieke en religieuze grenzen. In hoeverre Bessarion zoals Chalkokondyles streefde naar een politieke vereniging van Hellenen in één staatsverband kan niet eenduidig uit zijn werk worden opgemaakt. Wat hij over de politieke toekomst van de Hellenen zegt roept meer vragen op dan het beantwoordt.

Bessarions visie op Helleense vrijheid (*eleutheria*), zijn positieve evaluatie van de Romeinse overheersing van zijn geboortestad Trebizonde en zijn bewondering voor Venetië als een 'tweede Byzantium' en 'vaderland' suggereren bovendien dat hij een westerse en dan vooral Venetiaans bestuur van de Grieken niet op voorhand van de hand zou wijzen.

Bessarions Griekse *Lofrede* wordt in dit hoofdstuk geïnterpreteerd als een sleuteltekst voor begrip van Bessarions Hellenisme en meer bepaald van zijn latere cultuurpolitiek in Rome. In dit retorische kunststuk benadrukte Bessarion de geslaagde ononderbroken transmissie van typisch Helleense kernwaarden vanaf het vijfde-eeuwse Athene tot en met het vijftiende-eeuwse Trebizonde, zelfs onder buitenlandse overheersing of te midden van barbaren. Deze indrukwekkende culturele overdracht verklaarde hij vanuit imitatie (*mimesis*) van kenmerkende voorouderlijke waarden en eigenschappen. Van de typisch Helleense kernwaarden was *vrijheidsbehoud* voor hem zonder meer de belangrijkste. Van alle vormen van vrijheid beschouwde hij de geestelijke als de hoogste vorm. Omdat de 1500-jarige Romeinse overheersing deze geestelijke vrijheid van de Hellenen onverlet had gelaten, hadden volgens Bessarion de Hellenen van Trebizonde hun Helleense vrijheid onder Byzantijns bestuur integraal behouden. Hoewel Bessarion zijn *Lofprijzing* waarschijnlijk schreef (vlak) voordat hij zich permanent in Rome zou vestigen, formuleerde hij er uitgangspunten die ons helpen om de betekenis van zijn latere cultuurpolitiek beter te begrijpen. Met name de opposities vrijheid–slavernij en Hellenisme–barbarij spelen hierin een rol. Door zijn vrijheidsbegrip in relatie tot niet-Helleense overheersing in de *Lofprijzing* en in zijn latere *Encycliek aan de Grieken* nader te onderzoeken laat dit hoofdstuk zien dat de beroemde pogingen van de kardinaal om na de val van Constantinopel het Griekse patrimonium te redden onlosmakelijk verbonden zijn met zijn begrip van Helleense vrijheid.

Ondanks Bessarions rotsvaste geloof in het voortbestaan van de Grieksheid onafhankelijk van dynastieke, politieke en religieuze grenzen, stond zijn eigen Grieksheid soms op gespannen voet met andere aspecten van zijn zelfbeeld. Dit hoofdstuk legt dan ook een weinig opgemerkte spanning bloot tussen Bessarions rol als Helleen in de Byzantijnse diaspora en zijn rol als Romeinse kardinaal in de Christelijke gemeenschap. Om dit te verduidelijken wordt Bessarions zelfrepresentatie in zijn beroemde in het Latijn gestelde *Redevoeringen tegen de Turken* (ca. 1470) geanalyseerd. Ofschoon de *Redevoeringen* dikwijls zijn aangehaald als bewijs voor Bessarions Griekse vaderlandsliefde, springt de afwezigheid van een *Griekse* Bessarion juist in deze tekst in

het oog. Deze afwezigheid wordt des te duidelijker in een vergelijking met andere kruistochtappèls van Byzantijnse geleerden in Italië, zoals de latere redevoering van Janus Lascaris. Bessarions terughoudendheid wordt gerelateerd aan het feit zijn *Redevoeringen* een Latijns publiek aanspreekt als kerkvorst, hetgeen moeilijk te verenigen bleek te zijn met een uitgesproken Grieksheid.

Bessarions *Redevoeringen tegen de Turken* zijn in de secundaire literatuur dikwijls aangehaald als illustratief voor zijn Griekse patriottisme, terwijl de afwezigheid van Grieks patriottisme in deze speeches nu juist opvalt. Het omgekeerde is het geval bij Georgius Trapezuntius van Creta, wiens Grieksheid en Hellenisme in het **vierde hoofdstuk** wordt besproken. Daarbij wordt met name aandacht besteed aan de historische rol die Trapezuntius aan de Grieken toekent. Terwijl Bessarion de Hellenen voornamelijk zag door een klassieke bril, bekijkt Trapezuntius zijn landgenoten vanuit een complexer raamwerk.

Trapezuntius' casus toont bij uitstek aan hoezeer de interpretatie van het verleden soms wordt gestuurd door moderne aannames en ideologische vooringenomenheid. Omdat Trapezuntius al vroeg naar Italië kwam, zich tot de Romeinse kerk bekeerde, vloeiend Latijn schreef en bovendien later in zijn leven toenadering zocht tot de Ottomaanse Sultan, is er wel beweerd dat hij na zijn vestiging in Italië al zijn banden met de Griekse wereld verbrak. Een nauwgezette herlezing van zijn Latijnse en Griekse werk en met name zijn brieven laat een heel ander beeld zien. Het eerste deel van het hoofdstuk demonstreert dat Trapezuntius Grieksheid regelmatig aanhaalt om gedrag van anderen te beoordelen of te voorspellen of zijn eigen gedragingen te verantwoorden. Hoewel hij zich vervreemd voelde van de Grieken wegens hun afkeer van de kerk van Rome, geeft hij meermaals uitdrukking aan zijn gevoelens van verbondenheid met de Grieken en de Griekstalige wereld. Hoewel zijn Kretenzische achtergrond onderdeel was van zijn biografie, oversteeg zijn Grieksheid het niveau van de familiegeschiedenis en –genealogie; ze verbond hem met een verbeelde gemeenschap van 'Graeci', niet in de laatste plaats de helden van het antieke Hellas, met wie hij een etnische en culturele verwantschap voelde.

Het tweede deel van het hoofdstuk vergroot en verdiept ons begrip van het belang van het antieke Griekenland voor Trapezuntius door na te gaan hoe hij de plaats van de Grieken in de geschiedenis beoordeelde. Trapezuntius' visie op de Grieken was ingebed in zijn excentrieke apocalyptische en profetische denkbeelden en vinden voornamelijk uitdrukking in zijn *Vergelijking tussen de filosofen Plato en Aristoteles* (ca. 1458). Hoewel

de *Vergelijking* een filosofisch en geen historiografisch werk is, articuleert Trapezuntius er een tamelijk duidelijke visie op de rol van het oude Hellas in Gods plan met de wereld. De Griekse wereld is in deze visie de bron van zowel al het kwade als al het goede. Zowel heilzame als slechte ontwikkelingen vanaf de antieke oudheid tot en met de vijftiende eeuw worden teruggevoerd op denkbeelden die Trapezuntius associeert met Plato (het kwade) of Aristoteles (het goede).

Terwijl Plato, Epicurus, Mohammed en Plethon de Platoonse traditie vertegenwoordigen, vertegenwoordigen Aristoteles, Alexander de Grote en Isidorus van Kiev de 'goede' Grieken die het ware geloof van de kerk van Rome 'voorbereidden' of trachtten te herstellen. Trapezuntius zag deze twee conflicterende tradities culmineren in zijn eigen tijd met zichzelf en mogelijk Bessarion in de hoofdrollen. Volgens Trapezuntius probeerde Plethons leerling Bessarion de kerk van Rome van binnenuit te corrumperen met Platoonse leerstellingen. Tegelijkertijd wierp hij zichzelf op als een profeet die het einde der tijden voorspelde en dit trachtte te keren door de Ottomaanse Sultan tot Christus te bekeren. Op deze manier zou hij niet alleen de Grieken, maar de wereldgemeenschap onder de kerk van Rome terugvoeren. Zoals Aristoteles en Alexander de Grote samen de grondvesten legden voor de Christelijke wereldcultuur (de *praeparatio evangelica*), zo probeerT Trapezuntius met de Sultan de wereld van de ondergang te redden (*restauratio evangelica*). Zowel zijn brieven als zijn *Vergelijking* geven derhalve uitdrukking aan zijn excentrieke opvattingen over de rol van de Grieken in heden en verleden, hetgeen op gespannen voet staat met de vooringenomen wijze waarop zijn Grieksheid in het verleden is geïnterpreteerd en vooral veroordeeld.

De voorgaande hoofdstukken leggen voornamelijk nadruk op de wijze waarop 'het bezit' van de Griekse oudheid de Byzantijnen positief onderscheidde van anderen. Het tweede hoofdstuk benadrukt Grieksheid als een positief onderscheidend kenmerk van de Byzantijnen in Italië, terwijl de eerste tweede detailstudies nadruk leggen op de onderscheidende kenmerken van de Grieken en de unieke rol die zij in de geschiedenis hebben gespeeld. Het **vijfde hoofdstuk** laat daarentegen zien dat Byzantijnse intellectuelen tevens in staat waren om Grieken en Latijnen door middel van een gemeenschappelijke Griekse achtergrond met elkaar te verenigen. Janus Lascaris' *Florentijnse Redevoering* (1493) en Constantijn Lascaris' *Levens van Griekse filosofen* (1499) illustreren elk op eigen wijze hoe Byzantijnse intellectuelen het belang en de urgentie van het oude Hellas voor hun Latijnse publiek over het voetlicht konden

brengen. Het hoofdstuk richt zich met name op Janus Lascaris' *Redevoering*, die in de laatste sectie kort wordt vergeleken met de strategieën in Constantijn Lascaris' *Levens*.

Op basis van Dionysius van Halicarnassus en Plutarchus beargumenteerde Janus Lascaris in zijn *Florentijnse Redevoering* dat de Grieken en Romeinen uiteindelijk beschouwd konden worden als één en hetzelfde volk, zowel in etnisch als in cultureel opzicht. Hij wees in dit verband net als Dionysius op de sterke banden van bloedverwantschap (*consanguinitas*) tussen Romeinen en Grieken. Bovendien benadrukt hij in lijn met Plutarchus de culturele imitatie van de Grieken door de Romeinen. Omdat de Florentijnen zichzelf zagen als erfgenamen en afstammelingen van de Romeinen, smeedt Lascaris hier in feite een nauw verband van verwantschap tussen 'Graeci' als hijzelf en de 'Romeinen' zoals zijn Florentijnse publiek. Wegens de etno-culturele verwantschap van Grieken en Romeinen was de bestudering van het Grieks niet langer de studie van een *vreemde* taal en literatuur om de *eigen* taal beter te leren beheersen, maar de bestudering van de *oorspronkelijke moedertaal* die nog doorklonk in het Latijn. Dit is een direct antwoord op Italiaanse humanisten die de Grieken zagen als een vreemd volk dat men beter op afstand kon houden, maar ook op humanisten die bang waren dat zij door de studie van het Grieks hun Latijnse eigenheid zouden verliezen. In Janus Lascaris' visie is deze Latijnse eigenheid niets anders dan afgekalfde Grieksheid die de Latijnen net als de Byzantijnen zouden moeten herstellen in plaats van veronachtzamen.

Ondanks Lascaris' nadruk op de nauwe Grieks-Romeinse verwantschap, houdt hij vast aan de culturele superioriteit van de Grieken. Hoewel Grieken en Romeinen veel met elkaar gemeen hebben, zijn de verschillen tussen beide volkeren voor hem ook overduidelijk. De Latijnse taal is zowel een bron van overeenkomsten (die Lascaris etymologisch blootlegt) als verschillen (die voor hem de Latijnse vervreemding van de Grieken aantonen). Lascaris' verklaring hiervoor is dat de Latijnen uiteindelijk van de Grieken zijn vervreemd door hun weinig succesvolle navolging van met name de Griekse taal. Bessarions Trapezuntijnen slaagden erin zowel taal als cultuur van hun Atheense voorouders te behouden (zie hoofdstuk 3). Volgens Janus Lascaris slaagden de Latijnen daar echter *niet* in: naarmate zij zich verder verwijderden van hun oorspronkelijke territorium had hun Grieks in zijn visie te lijden onder de nabijheid van de barbaren. Ook de Latijnse literatuur was volgens Lascaris net als de Latijnse taal uiteindelijk een imperfect aftreksel van de Griekse. Hoewel de Romeinen erin waren geslaagd om de oude Grieken te imiteren op het gebied van de politiek en de oorlogsvoering, waren zij op andere gebieden zozeer van hun voorouders vervreemd dat

zij een compleet ander volk leken. Zodoende trachtte Lascaris de relatieve monopoliepositie van de Grieken op hoge cultuur te handhaven door te wijzen op het *gedegenereerde* karakter van de Latijnse taal en cultuur.

Hoewel Janus Lascaris de Florentijnen met zijn speech waarschijnlijk niet tot een 'Griekser' zelfbeeld bracht, viel Constantijn Lascaris' *Levens* daarentegen in goede aarde, omdat Zuid-Italiaanse humanisten poogden om een 'Sicilia graeca' te construeren. Beide Lascarides wezen op de etnische verwantschap tussen Italianen en Grieken, maar er is een significant verschil tussen hun uitwerking van deze verwantschap. Hoewel Janus Lascaris de Latijnse verwijdering van het Griekse kernland zag als een culturele verarming die de Romeinen uiteindelijk inferieur maakte aan de Grieken, beschouwde Constantijn Lascaris Sicilië juist als superieur aan het kernland van het Hellenisme. Deze verschillende visies op de verhouding tussen Hellenisme en het Griekse territorium anticiperen op het onderwerp van de laatste detailstudie die wordt uitgewerkt in het zesde hoofdstuk.

Na 1453 trachtten veel Byzantijnse intellectuelen om Europese mogendheden te bewegen tot een kruistocht om hun vaderland te herstellen. Toch spraken ze zich niet uit over de grenzen en de plaats van 'Graecia'. Zagen zij het Griekstalige Oosten als hun vaderland? Was 'Graecia' het Palaeologenrijk dat zij hadden verlaten? Was het een ideale vereniging van alle Hellenen onder een Helleense koning? En hoe konden zij hun aanspraak op territoria geldig maken die reeds voor 1453 zo lang onder wisselende overheden hadden gestaan? Hoewel de cartografische representatie van Griekenland als zelfstandige regio pas vanaf de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw op gang kwam, vinden we in de humanistische poëzie al eerder een uitzonderlijk helder antwoord op de gestelde vragen. Het laatste en **zesde hoofdstuk** bespreekt de manier waarop Johannes Gemistus als één van de eersten (of misschien zelfs als eerste) een coherent territoriaal beeld van het Griekse vaderland construeerde en hoe hij 'zijn' aanspraak op dit Griekenland verantwoordde. Hij deed dat in zijn Latijnse gedicht *Aansporing en voorspelling*, opgedragen aan paus Leo X (ca. 1516).

Bij gebrek aan eenduidige staatsgrenzen in de vroegmoderne periode was Griekenland een niet scherp gedefinieerde regio van Oost-Europa. Als politieke eenheid had ze alleen als ondergeschikte bestuursregio bestaan, zoals in het Romeinse Rijk ('Graecia') en het Byzantijnse Rijk ('Hellas'). Omdat ook de antieke bronnen geen definitief uitsluitsel boden over de exacte grenzen van Griekenland, werd 'Graecia' of 'Hellas' doorgaans geconceptualiseerd (1) als een weinig omlijnde culturele of

linguïstische ruimte die eerder bestond als symbolische herinneringsplaats dan als locatie in welomlijnde geografische zin en (2) als meer bepaalde, geografische regio die grensde aan andere regio's van Oost-Europa. In zijn *Protrepticon* combineerde Gemistus de meer inclusieve, culturele notie van 'Griekenland' met een geografisch coherente ruimte en transformeerde deze eenheid vervolgens in een politiek territorium dat moest worden hersteld.

Gemistus construeerde aldus een geheel nieuw beeld van Griekenland. Ofschoon de dichter in zijn gedicht sprak in termen van restauratie, is zijn 'Graecia' ongekend. Het komt niet overeen met een vóór 1516 gekende politieke, territoriale of culturele eenheid die hersteld had kunnen worden. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien wat Gemistus' bronnen waren voor zijn 'Graecia': naast Statius' *Thebais* voornamelijk de encyclopedie van Plinius de Oudere. Dat bewijst meteen hoezeer Gemistus' 'Graecia' een constructie was. Het hoofdstuk laat ook zien dat Gemistus het door hem afgebakende territorium historisch verankerde door het te verbinden met het oude Hellas, d.w.z. het Griekse verleden van de Argonauten, de Calydonische Jacht en de Trojaanse Oorlog tot de dood van Philopoemen in de tweede eeuw voor Christus. Door de zoons van Asclepius als zijn 'verwanten uit Epidaurus' te presenteren suggereerde Gemistus een driehoeksverhouding tussen de oude Hellenen, 'nieuwe' Hellenen als hijzelf en het Griekse territorium. Op deze wijze wekte hij de indruk dat het nieuwe territorium dat hij beschreef, 'natuurlijk' aan de Grieken toebehoorde. Gemistus' nadruk op Constantinopel en de Peloponnesus kan worden verklaard uit het belang en culturele prestige van deze regio's; zijn uitsluiting van Klein-Azië in zijn verbeelding van Griekenland is mogelijk het gevolg van zijn strikte onderscheid tussen Europa en Azië dat zoals voor Bessarion voor hem samenviel met het onderscheid tussen Christendom en ongelovigheid. Door Griekenland nadrukkelijk te presenteren als een Christelijk en Europees land dat het oude Hellas vertegenwoordigt, plaatst Gemistus zijn vaderland in het wereldbeeld van paus Leo X, die het als zijn taak zag om niet alleen het Heilige Land, maar ook het patrimonium van de Grieken veilig te stellen. Het hoofdstuk weerlegt op die manier de visie dat Gemistus' gedicht enkel een nostalgische dromerij over het verleden was.

Het antieke Griekenland speelt in Gemistus' gedicht vooral een rol in de historische verankering van het Griekse territorium. Als een *politiek territorium* wordt 'Graecia' via een duidelijke allusie op het Vergiliaanse Rome echter ook als (voormalig) Romeinse macht gepresenteerd en gelegitimeerd. Door Gemistus' voorstelling van Griekenland tenslotte te vergelijken met de manier waarop het op contemporaine landkaarten werd afgebeeld en in het bijzonder op Nicolaus Sophianus' *Beschrijving van Heel Griekenland*

(ca. 1540), toont dit hoofdstuk aan hoe revolutionair Gemistus' voorstelling van zijn Griekse vaderland in feite was. Zoals Sophianus' representatie van 'Graecia' de cartografische weergave van de regio voorgoed veranderde, zo kan Gemistus' verbeelding van Griekenland gelden als een revolutionaire stap in de verbeelding van de regio *tout court*.

Curriculum Vitae

Han Lamers was born on November 22nd, 1984 in Eindhoven (the Netherlands). Between 1997 and 2003 he passed through the gymnasium at the Van Maerlant Lyceum (Eindhoven). Between 2003 and 2008 he studied Classics and Literature at Leiden University (BA in 2006 with the highest distinction, MPhil in 2008 with the highest distinction). For his thesis on self-representation in the Latin works of the Greek-Italian poet Manilius Cabacius Rallus of Sparta (ca. 1447–1523) he was awarded the first Leiden University Thesis Prize for the best thesis submitted in the academic year 2007–2008.

In 2008, he started his doctoral research, funded through the NWO 'Toptalent' programme. His supervisors were Ineke Sluiter (Leiden University) and Anthony Grafton (Princeton University). Between 2008 and 2012, he was visiting researcher at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR), the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin, the Freie Universtät in Berlin, and the KU Leuven. For shorter periods, he also researched in Florence and Venice. From 2006 on, he presented numerous academic papers at national and international meetings. He moreover published articles and reviews in peer-reviewed journals and collected volumes. In addition to research, he taught courses on Latin and Greek grammar and literature, late-Byzantine literature, Neo-Latin humanism, and the history of philology. He also gave invited guest lectures at the KU Leuven and at the University of Nicosia (Cyprus). Between 2010 and 2011 he was chair of the PhD Council of the Leiden University Institute for Cultural Disciplines (now LUCAS) and member of the Advisory Board of the same institute.

With the support of the Spinoza Fund of Ineke Sluiter Han Lamers continues his research at the Leiden Classics Department as a postdoctoral researcher. His research interests cover the classical traditions of Greece and Rome and include questions of cultural ownership, self-representation, and intellectual history. He is working on a translation and study of Manuel Chrysoloras' *Comparison of Old and New Rome* (ca. 1411) and, together with his colleague Bettina Reitz, a publication on the *Codex Fori Mussolini* (1932). In addition, he is preparing a larger research programme about the *spatial turn* in Greek studies in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Index Nominum

The *index nominum* includes personal names from both the text and the footnotes, but excludes bibliographical references. Persons known by their place of birth (e.g. Annius of Viterbo) are indexed under their first names. Popes, emperors, queens, kings, and other well-known members of royal houses are also indexed under their first names. For the reader's convenience, vernacular names as well as dates of birth and death have been added in parentheses where possible. If applicable, dates of reign have been added after 'r.'.